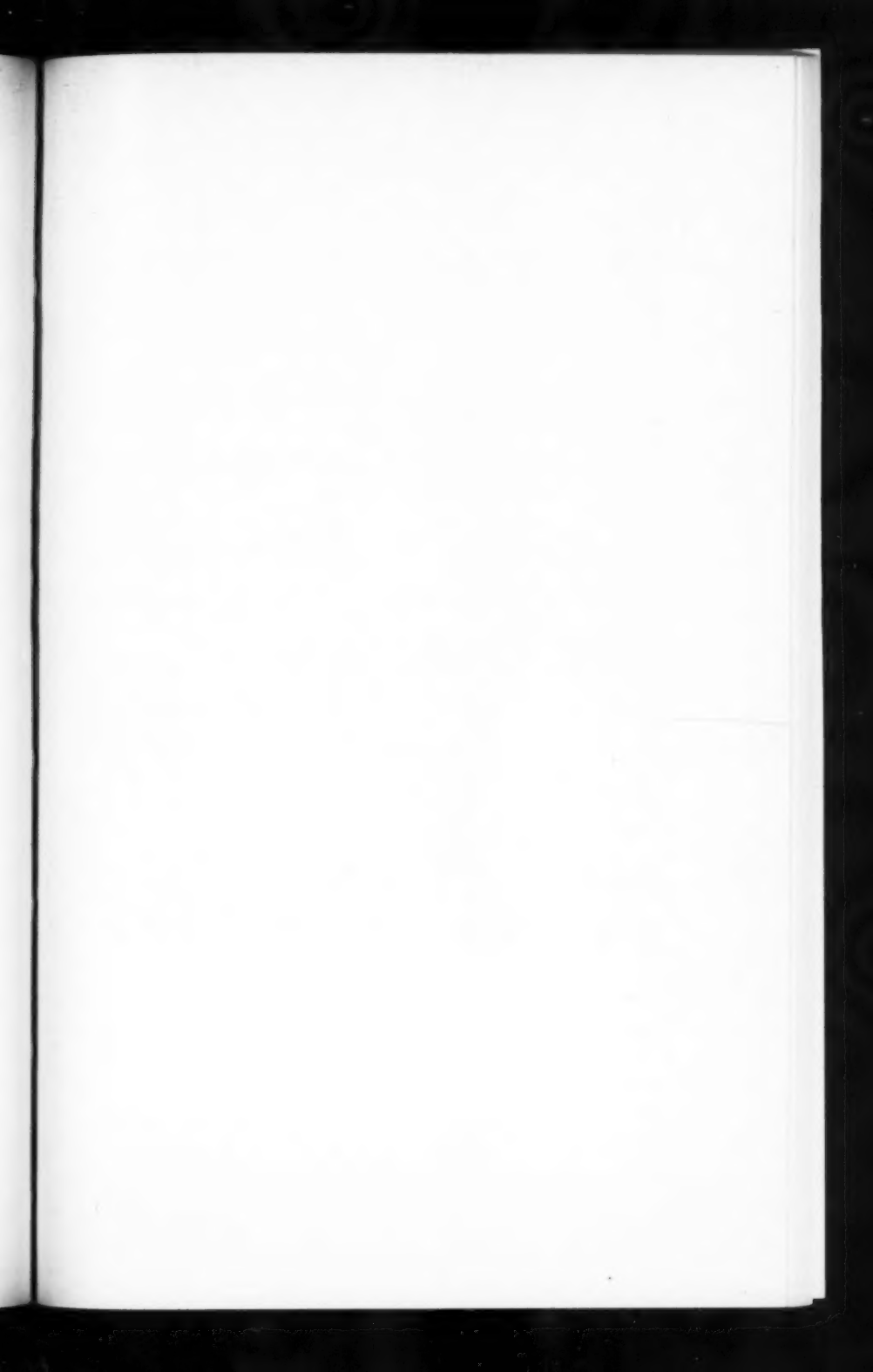
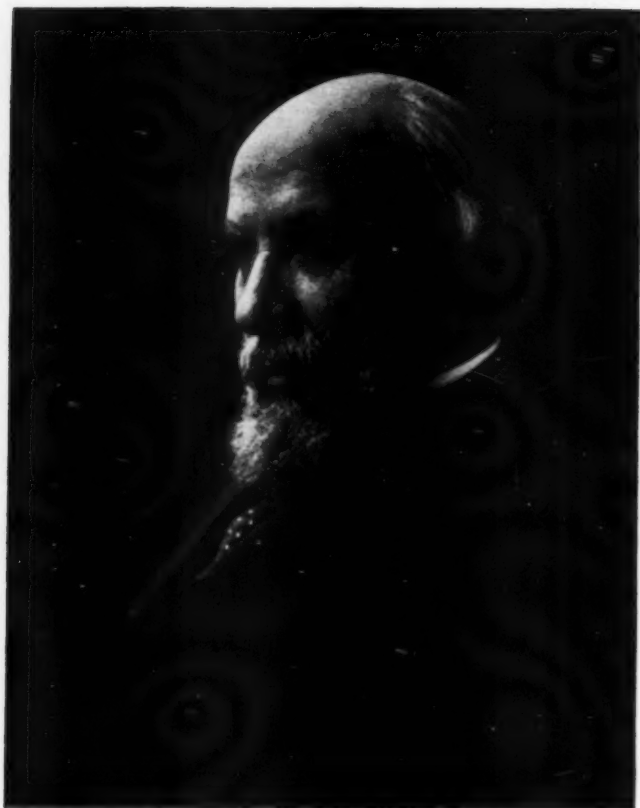


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*John J. Kelly*



## JAMES J. HILL<sup>1</sup>

With unaffected diffidence I appear before you to-night in response to your invitation to deliver for the historical society an address in memory of James J. Hill. The compliment is deeply appreciated by me, however sincerely I may doubt my ability to rise to this high occasion, and to the level of that unique greatness which is its subject. Mr. Hill's extraordinary qualities and the diversity and excellence of his work must create in any one who attempts to appreciate them in words a deep humility. It is, none the less, our fitting part to pay such tribute as we may; to retrace, admire, and, in so far as we can, appropriate a life that is literally part of the world's history. We are especially proud because that life is written for all time in the annals of the Northwest and of Minnesota. By his connection with all the history of this state, by his just title of "empire builder" of the Northwest, by his long association with this society and his interest in it, as by the closer tie to those who were privileged to call him friend, he belongs to Minnesota, to the Minnesota Historical Society, to us. It is, therefore, most natural that the society should consecrate formally a session to his memory; and that at least an outline sketch should be placed in its record of a life so full, so varied, so preëminent by its characteristics and accomplishments that the most deliberate and exhaustive treatment must still be incomplete. To me personally it comes as a highly appreciated honor to speak to you to-night of Mr. Hill. Inadequate as I am to such a task, I feel that the subject itself and your interest in it will supplement many deficiencies, and also that something will be pardoned to an admiration so great and an affection so deep and sincere as my own.

<sup>1</sup> A memorial address read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 15, 1917.

The important facts of the life of Mr. Hill are already almost as familiar to the public as his face. James Jerome Hill was born near Guelph, in the county of Wellington, Ontario, of mixed Irish and Scotch lineage, September 16, 1838. He was the third of four children. From both sides of his ancestry he inherited salient characteristics, though there was nothing on either to prophesy the distinction that he was to attain. A studious boy, as fond of books and reading as of play, he grew up in an environment that contributed to sturdiness of mind and body. He was educated first in the district school; then went to an academy at Rockwood, where a Quaker instructor, William Wetherald, seems to have done him valuable service in directing his reading and the course of his thought. When he was fourteen years old his father died and his formal education was broken off in order that, to help the family through, he might work in a village store. By the time that his assistance was no longer indispensable, he was eager to start in pursuit of a project as wild as any dream of romance. He had set his thought on the creation of new systems of transportation on the rivers of the Orient, to which his reading, especially Plutarch's Lives that he devoured, had led and his fancy beckoned him. He could reach those fabled shores by going as a sailor from some Pacific American port. The homes of schoolmates from the western wilds of Canada, as they were then considered and really were, would be his half-way house. But to reach these he must come to St. Paul, take the Red River trail north to Fort Garry, and thence strike west across the plains with one of the Hudson's Bay Company expeditions. He had to work his passage; and he reached St. Paul, by way of Chicago and the Mississippi River, July 21, 1856, only to find that the last Red River brigade had left a short time before. He was marooned here until the first one should go out in the following spring.

St. Paul had then between four and five thousand people. The "Northwest," as the term is understood now, did not exist. All communication with the outside world was by river

steamboats; but there was a flourishing trade, and people kept coming in fast. Business of considerable volume was carried on with the settlers in the river valleys and with the people about Fort Garry, now Winnipeg. The levee was the community center of life and activity, and there young Hill found employment. He became shipping clerk for J. W. Bass and Company, agents for the Dubuque and St. Paul Packet Company; for their successors, Brunson, Lewis, and White; and after three years went to Temple and Beaupre, and later engaged with Borup and Champlin, agents for the Galena Packet Company and the Davidson line of steamboats. These were years full of growth. The wine of life was red; the frontier is a stern but effective teacher; and James J. Hill mastered the conditions about him and the details of the transportation business as it was then carried on. He read and studied constantly. He assimilated every fact of the day's experience. He had his office on the levee, and he saw the first wheat shipped out of Minnesota and cut the stencil to mark the first barrels of flour that went out of Minneapolis. Many details of this early time, interesting in their connection with the city, the state, and the man, were given by him in an address delivered before this society in 1897 and printed in its *Collections*.<sup>2</sup> He shared in all the early life of St. Paul, and before many years became, by provident industry and economy, one of its well-established and promising citizens. An accident in youth which deprived him of the sight of one eye prevented him from serving in the Civil War. He had studied Minnesota traffic with the thoroughness that he brought to every subject worthy of his attention, and by the spring of 1865 he was ready to go into business on his own account as agent of the Northwestern Packet Company, then a big river concern.

In 1867 came the marriage to Miss Mary Theresa Mehegan, a St. Paul girl, from which dated his lifelong happiness and a great part of his ability to face with confident strength

<sup>2</sup> *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 275-290.

the world and the problems it brought. No man has paid a more delicate and convincing tribute than he did on many occasions to the domestic life that freed him and nerved him for the struggle. In all these years over which we must pass so rapidly, the chroniclers show him a busy, public-spirited, prosperous citizen of St. Paul. He was interested in everything, from trotting horses to local politics. He believed in the country. He was loyal to the town. If the word "booster" had been in the vocabulary of those days, it would have been applied first of all to Mr. Hill. He was now growing to be one of the solid citizens of St. Paul. He engaged in a general commission and forwarding business. He put up his big warehouse on the old levee. In 1866 he took a contract to handle freight for the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. And thus he entered a new field which was to influence powerfully his future. A great share of the business of St. Paul was carried on with the settlements in Canada near old Fort Garry. The Hudson's Bay Company, and the free traders in spite of it, engaged in this profitable commerce. In 1863 Mr. Hill had begun to handle a part of it for Norman W. Kittson, and became more and more interested. He was by this time a wonderfully well-informed man. His constant reading, his really marvelous memory, and his habit of minutely accurate observation were making him an authority. His indefatigable industry had given him business repute and laid the foundation of a modest fortune. He was an expert on fuel, and knew the coal measures of the Northwest as perhaps no other man has. He entered into one partnership after another, as his developing interests and his grasp of the local situation seemed to advise. The gross earnings of his firm, Hill, Griggs and Company, about 1869, were running from forty to sixty-five thousand dollars a year, a big sum for those days in St. Paul. The Northwestern Fuel Company of St. Paul is the direct successor to his fuel interest and his old firm.

It was the transportation business, in new forms and with new possibilities, that claimed him now. It had created and sustained the life of early days on the levee. The coming of

the railroad inspired him first with a true sense of the ultimate value and supremacy of the land carrier. But up in the North, where as yet there was no prospect of rail carriage, the Red River trade absorbed his present attention. Familiar with the volume and profits of this Red River business, he now went into it on a more generous scale. By 1870 he was immersed in that interest, and by 1871 had a through freight and passenger line so well established that Mr. Kittson was glad to join forces with him. The frequent trips that he made in these days over the trails and outside the trails, often through dangers and with adventures that he loved to recall, gave him something worth more than his profits: that knowledge of the value of the northwestern country for settlement and cultivation, that vision of its near future, on which afterward he staked everything, and which kept him sanguine always because he had founded his faith on a certainty. It was on one of these trips by dog sled between St. Paul and Fort Garry that he met, in 1870, on the snow-covered prairie, Donald A. Smith, whose fortunes were to be associated so intimately with his own.

It is impossible to rehearse here the long and unhappy history of early railroad projects in Minnesota. The St. Paul and Pacific was a successor of the Minnesota and Pacific, with both of which were connected many of the names still best known as contributing to the early history of St. Paul. Mr. Hill knew well this property, which went into bankruptcy in the general crash of 1873. Besides its valuable terminals and partly finished lines, it was heir to the Red River Valley country. During the next five years he became obsessed with the idea of obtaining control of it. In the old St. Paul Club House, as a friend of both of them said, he "bored it into Kittson with a threatening forefinger"; and P. H. Kelly complained one languid morning because "that Hill had kept him up all night talking railroads." He talked of it to any one who would listen, and all thought him mad. But Mr. Smith, deep in Canadian political life, felt it imperative to get a rail outlet from Winnipeg to the East. The future of the Dominion Confederation, as

well as his own, hung upon it. Until the far-future day of a Canadian Pacific through line, it could be had only by building from Winnipeg to the boundary, and then rounding out the projected St. Paul and Pacific system on this side of the line. Finally, after plans, advances, reverses, and labors, whose history constitutes in itself a thrilling romance, Mr. Hill, in connection with Mr. Kittson, Mr. Smith, and Mr. George Stephen of the Bank of Montreal, came into possession of the long-desired property. They secured it by buying its defaulted bonds from the Dutch committee which represented the majority of them, held in Holland, putting up everything they had in the world to bind the bargain, and agreeing to make future payments and to perform miracles in the way of construction which would have daunted any spirit less sure of itself or less confident than that of Mr. Hill. When General Sibley afterward asked Mr. Kittson, his close friend, why he had kept all this from his knowledge, he said, "I did not dare to tell you because you would have thought that I was mad." In 1878 the agreement with the bondholders was signed; and in 1879 the impossible conditions had been performed, and the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway Company was organized.

It is from this time that the real man becomes fully visible. For the complete display of his powers an adequate field was needed. He had never had it before. As general manager and, from 1882 onward, as president, he showed what he could do. Here began the series of financial plans and methods which started with putting the new company on a basis that made its securities acceptable in the most conservative markets by paying sure dividends, and ended with Mr. Hill as a trusted counselor of the great nations of the world. Even to those who thought they knew him best one surprise after another came as they saw him prove himself a master in railroad construction, in traffic getting, in operation, in financing. It was universal genius in action. But it was also, as he himself said in later years, "work, work, work, and then some more work." Nothing escaped his eye, nothing was forgotten, and nothing neglected. Even those

who felt the dynamic energy of Mr. Hill in his great enterprises of a later day find it difficult to realize how he was able at this time to carry so many burdens, to master so many different kinds of activity, to unite unremitting labor every day and nearly every night in the year with a level judgment and prescience, constantly occupied with the future, which were both among the most distinguished features of his wonderful natural endowment.

His dream realized by the completion of the railroad system, now firmly under his control to the coveted Winnipeg connection at the international boundary, by the occupation of the Red River Valley and the finishing of the Alexandria line, with settlers pouring in and business surpassing all expectations, he seemed inspired to more furious energy rather than to the relaxation which is generally held to be one of the rewards and privileges of success. His own work only fairly begun, he entered a syndicate, in 1880, with Mr. Smith, Mr. Stephen, and Mr. Angus to build the Canadian Pacific. His part in this was far from the perfunctory one frequently imagined. The fact was that he was already more familiar with the western country than any other man connected with transportation. He traveled incessantly, by buckboard, on horseback, on foot. He had men out in the field and others gathering information and sending him reports. For, of course, from the first moment that he felt secure of the St. Paul and Pacific, he intended to realize in fact the pretentious dream embodied in its name. He would build in his own time and his own way, but his railroad was to become transcontinental. Meantime, friendship, his appreciation of his associates, and his fitness for the part took him into the heart of the Canadian Pacific project. It is little known that to him was committed the location of its western line and a large part of the control of actual construction. He purchased an interest in the old St. Paul and Duluth Railroad, giving a lake outlet for his system. At the same time arrangements were made for a future independent line into Duluth-Superior, with great terminals there, and a direct line also from the head of the



lakes to the west. He had already started his system on that western flight which was to know no rest until it should reach Puget Sound. Construction records were broken in the great advance that pushed it through to Helena in 1887, and to Everett in 1893. By this time the Great Northern, organized in 1890, had become the parent company. The St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba had, as Mr. Hill said, "outgrown its clothes." Its successor became the depository of the immense and varied interests that his intelligence, energy, and will gathered together in the vast territory which he now made supremely his own. The financing of such a railroad system as this had come to be, and of the contemplated additions, could be carried successfully with this broadened base.

In the meantime every connection and every territory had been looked after with all the old thoroughness. The Duluth-Superior line and terminals became reality; the company ran its own steamships on the Great Lakes and smashed elevator monopolies at Buffalo. Wherever, along the two thousand miles of track, population grew, more railroads sprouted. Wherever a railroad stuck out a stub, there population appeared. This reciprocating action assured prosperity for both the company and the country. The Northwest became a name of power to conjure with, largely because the Great Northern was what it was, and because it followed the policy of encouragement to internal growth that expressed a fundamental thought of Mr. Hill.

During this period, which was contemporary with another disaster to the Northern Pacific, the control of the latter had been more than once within his reach. Lord Strathcona said many years afterward to Archbishop Ireland that if Mr. Hill had determined to take over the Northern Pacific, all that he needed was to send a cable to London stating the fact and the amount of money required. "No matter what the sum," he added emphatically, "so great was our confidence in Mr. Hill that it would have been forthcoming." But he went his own way, following his own sure plan. Mr. J. P. Morgan took in



hand the reorganization of the Northern Pacific, and a plan was agreed upon between him, Mr. Hill and the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, by which the Great Northern should hold half the stock of the new company and guarantee, up to a certain amount, the principal and interest of its bonds. This having been forbidden by the courts, the reorganization went forward as a matter of individual interest and agreement, and cemented a relation of confidence and understanding between Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan which was never to be broken. At the same time questions of supremacy had arisen in the debatable land of the Pacific Northwest, where a Union Pacific possession, the Oregon Short Line and its accessories, impinged upon the territory of the northern transcontinentals. Mr. Hill did not seek war, but he did not undervalue the seriousness of the situation. He took up the matter with Mr. Harriman directly, and it is not difficult to read between the lines of their correspondence the note of irrepressible conflict. To the struggle for territory was added the ambition to control Oriental trade, whose growth was a direct creation of the brain and railroad policy of Mr. Hill. Finding westbound freight over his new line far in excess of eastbound, he made a very low rate on Pacific Coast lumber to fill his empty cars. The business growing so rapidly as to swing the balance too far in the other direction, he ransacked the Orient through his agents and representatives to discover what it could buy from this country. He planned a great trade revolution, which should not only gather up commerce everywhere west of the Alleghanies and transport it to Japan, China, India, but actually revolutionize the ocean carrying trade of the world by swinging it westward around the globe instead of eastward through the Suez Canal. He built for this Pacific route the biggest freight ships ever launched. Few conceptions of world trade and world interest have been so grand and just as this, so founded on fact instead of fancy, so possible of realization.

That this development of American interest was to be shackled and prevented later by the action of the federal power upon the export rates did not affect either its present promise or

the hostility naturally awakened in a competitor. Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan understood each other; and the two railroads which they represented bought jointly the Burlington system, to make their traffic machine equal to the purpose present to their minds. Mr. Harriman held this an invasion and a menace, demanded a share in control of the new property, and, when this was refused, answered the challenge by attempting to buy a majority of the shares of the Northern Pacific itself. It was the darkest and most dangerous day in Mr. Hill's business life. The plan was practically executed before it was discovered. Mr. Hill said openly, then and afterward, that if the Union Pacific controlled the Northern Pacific, he should advise his friends to sell their holdings of Great Northern for what they could get. The Harriman party had secured a majority of the total capital stock of the Northern Pacific. Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan, who was abroad at the time, had to buy fifteen million dollars of common stock, in an excited market, to give them control of that class of stock, and they did. It was the famous ninth of May, 1901. Not only did Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan stand loyally together against the temptation of offered millions, but the former had the satisfaction of finding behind him, to their last share and their last dollar, the capitalists and stockholders who had been associated with him from the beginning. He had won their supreme confidence, and now it stood him in good stead. The holders of the common stock having a right to retire the preferred on any first of January, the victory remained with Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan. An understanding was reached which left the Northern Pacific in Mr. Morgan's hands, with representatives of each of the big rival interests in the directories of the others, on a "community of interest" basis. Then, at the end of 1901, Mr. Hill formed the Northern Securities Company, whose purpose was to prevent raids such as this and assure future harmony of interest and action. After years of litigation it was finally declared illegal by a majority of one vote in the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Hill was not taken by surprise here or

anywhere. Mr. Harriman, in an attempt to resume the struggle for control by demanding back his original shares of stock, was defeated. The Great Northern pursued its triumphant way and, in 1907, consolidated all its proprietary companies under that name. In the same year Mr. Hill, having served for twenty-five years as its president, for which he never consented to receive any compensation, resigned the office to his second son, L. W. Hill, who was prepared by great native qualities, by fourteen years of understanding service under his father, and by a rare sense of filial affection and devotion to fill the position worthily, and himself became chairman of the board of directors.

During this later years occurred a development most characteristic of Mr. Hill. The discovery of iron ore in northern Minnesota had put a new face on property and progress there. To aid in the construction of the direct line of the Great Northern from Duluth northwest it was desirable to buy a small logging road that was in the way. Timber lands, some of which were known, and others supposed, to carry ore deposits, went with it. Mr. Hill bought the whole property personally, paying for it a little over four million dollars of his own money. He turned the railroad over to the Great Northern at cost. The ore properties were investigated, developed, constituted a trust, and the whole value—nobody knows how many millions it will amount to before it is exhausted—represented by one million five hundred thousand shares, was distributed, share for share, without charge to the holders of Great Northern stock. It was a magnificent gift of property belonging by every title of law and custom to Mr. Hill, but which the peculiar relation of trust that he had always felt to exist between him and his stockholders would not permit him to retain.

He had, from time to time, consented to make public addresses on topics in which he felt a lively interest, if the occasion seemed to promise practical results. In 1906 he delivered before the Minnesota Agricultural Society, to an audience of many thousands gathered to hear him on the State Fair

grounds in St. Paul, the address on "The Nation's Future," which attracted attention all over the world. It was a protest against waste of natural resources, and marked the beginning of the conservation movement in the United States. As one result of it President Roosevelt called a conference of the governors of the several states to meet at the White House in May, 1908, and there Mr. Hill repeated and emphasized his views. To the end of his life he was greatly interested in the theme, especially as applied to agricultural means and processes, and in its development in the direction of a proper conservation of capital and credit, to which he gave much thought and devoted several of his most studied public utterances.

Between 1905 and 1908 the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle line was built, following the north bank of the Columbia and freeing Mr. Hill's system from dependence on any one for its entrance to Portland. The property was constructed by, and belongs to, the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific jointly. He was urgent that the public authorities and the audiences that he addressed on special occasions should understand the country's need of more railroad facilities; more lines of track, more equipment, larger and better terminals. He objected to the progressive increase of expenses and decrease of rates imposed by law, less because such regulation curtailed the profit of railroad stockholders than because it discouraged the investment of new capital, by which alone railroad service could be made equal to growing public demands. He was never insensible to the influence of a proper and legitimate self-interest; but far above that, and more imperative in its claim upon his allegiance, was his conception of public duty, and of the effect of a given act upon public prosperity and the general good. He fought early and late for reciprocity between the United States and Canada. It would undoubtedly have added to the business of the Great Northern. But he believed with all his heart that it would also add to the prosperity of the people of the United States. And if he had not been convinced of this last, he would not have raised his voice in favor of the policy. His most

strongly held views, on the subjects that he deemed of paramount importance, were expressed in a series of essays on economic theory and fact published by him in book form in 1910 under the title *Highways of Progress*. It was Mr. Hill's only contribution to the library of printed books; but his speeches, addresses, interviews, newspaper and magazine articles were legion. He was keenly interested in every topic relating to the public interest, expressed his opinion freely, and took a point of view which later events always showed to be both public-spirited and economically sound.

Mr. Hill now finished his financial shaping of the Great Northern by approving such additions to its capital stock as its new acquisitions by purchase or construction required, and perfected the plan for the big blanket six hundred million dollar bond issue which was to put its finances beyond the reach of serious disturbance for fifty years to come. Finally, in 1912, he severed formally his official connection with the railway system by resigning his chairmanship. He accompanied this with a review of the rise and growth of the property, which is an epitome of his active life as a railroad builder and manager, prepared by his own hand. The remaining years were as busy as their predecessors had been. In 1912 he made public his plan to endow St. Paul with a public library for research. It was to be for the service of authors and investigators on special lines. He wished it to become the last word in both information and authority. The concrete embodiment of his thought stands in this city to-day, one of the most unique and perfect specimens of architectural beauty in the United States. This and all other uncompleted designs of Mr. Hill are being carried out with pious regard and care by the members of Mr. Hill's family.

He had long felt the difficulty, the danger, and frequently the injustice of a financial dependence upon eastern resources of money and credit by the farmers, merchants, and manufacturers of the Northwest. More than once he himself had had to stand between them and ruin. The cash and the influence that

he could command built a dike which alone stood firm against the waves of panic. For the convenience of his own great interests, as well as to put an end to this situation, he determined to create the financial independence of the Northwest, whose material prosperity he had been building for so many years. He bought the First National Bank and the Second National Bank of St. Paul, which were merged under the name of the First National Bank of St. Paul on the first of January, 1913. The growth of this financial institution since that time has had few parallels in any country. It has found opportunity and profit in supporting and promoting legitimate industry of every kind throughout the whole Northwest. Especially has it contributed to the welfare of the farm and to enhancing the value of its products. In 1915 was completed also the great office building in St. Paul that houses the bank, the Northwestern Trust Company, also purchased by Mr. Hill, and the general offices of the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, and the Burlington railroad systems. These were fixed for the future by him in the city of his home through the erection of this thoroughly modern structure, every detail of which had to pass a preliminary examination under his inquiring and critical eye.

He was immensely interested in the European war, with an intense sympathy for the Allies. He was high in the councils of the financial leaders of this country and Europe, amongst whom the question of protecting exchange and regulating international credit was debated and settled; and common consent assigns to him the most influential voice in determining the acceptance of the first foreign war loan proposed, and thus fixing the future policy of the country. He took this position not because of his sympathy with any other people, but because he believed it absolutely essential to the interests of the farmers and other producers of the United States. He was at this time, as always, busy with thoughts of the future, scanning the horizon for signals of hope or dread for this country after the war should close. His last words and thoughts were devoted

to this theme. In the midst of such activity, such usefulness, and such promise of busy and beneficent years to come, Mr. Hill died, after a brief illness, which was not even alarming until it neared its final stage, May 29, 1916, at his home in St. Paul. He was buried, amidst expressions of sorrow literally world-wide, in a spot that he loved much in life, on the shore of the lake at his country home at North Oaks.

It has been possible to trace here the life of Mr. Hill only in its barest and baldest outlines. Spots where the high light falls, acts greatly significant in themselves or much bruited among the public, pivotal points of his career have been selected to make an intelligible sketch. So many-sided, so brilliantly marked by episode and achievement along scores of divergent ways was the life of this extraordinary man that no one can hope to do it justice. And within the limits to which even your courtesy and the circumstances of this occasion must yield, I have not found it possible to introduce any of a multitude of incidents which are properly within the purview of this society, because they are part of the development of this north-western country and its historic past. I can only hope that the more extended treatment of every fact of Mr. Hill's life which has been given in volumes presently to appear may supplement satisfactorily to you, his townsmen, his friends, and his coadjutors of Minnesota and the Northwest, this catalogue of subject headings to which practically our consideration must be confined to-night.

But to the chronologically arranged list of events which I have presented thus far must be added a number of others that loom large, some of them very large, in the life of the man in whose honor we are met. These are connected rather with his mentality, his sympathy, his spiritual force and insight, with the whole trend of his work and purpose than with any one epoch or accomplishment. He was consistently and immensely generous. No one can ever take accurate measure of this, for his right hand held no communication with his left. His private charities were numerous and unceasing. His gifts to edu-



cation were constant and large. He loved especially to help small denominational colleges, believing in the necessity of a religious environment for the best development of youthful character. St. Paul Seminary is one of his royal foundations. Hamline University owes him much. So do a dozen other institutions that it would be easy to name in the Twin Cities, and scores of them in other parts of the Northwest. Besides this, he always contributed liberally toward big public enterprises; the erection of important new buildings; the location in St. Paul of new institutions like the packing plant of South St. Paul, where his powerful personal influence was even more effective than his contribution; charitable or public movements for a worthy purpose and on a big scale; the needs of those whom he knew and of many whom he never knew, when the tale of their genuine distress reached him. He had a very tender heart for all misfortune and suffering. It never left him unmoved. In times of financial panic he was the very bulwark of the Northwest. Again and again he placed the resources of the railroad, his personal fortune, and his commanding personal power behind the business interests of this section when a failure of confidence was driving everything upon the rocks. Dozens of prosperous concerns in these two cities to-day owe it to his quiet help, when no one else could or would come to the rescue, that they did not disappear in the gulf of bankruptcy in some of the many dark days that overhung the country during the more than thirty years that Mr. Hill made the Northwest the particular beneficiary of his provident care. The farmers of the country traversed by his railroad owe it to him that their products found a market and retained a value. He carried the industrial Northwest, as well as so many individuals and firms, on his own shoulders through many a flood that engulfed lesser men. Nothing that affected its fortunes found him indifferent. From Minnesota to Washington and Oregon every commonwealth became the object of his peculiar care. His influence, his purse, his individual effort were at the service of their people when he saw an opportunity



to advance their development or a need to save them from the menace of any form of industrial misfortune. To him, indeed, the Northwest was a sort of big family, whose affairs called out from him a kindly and paternal oversight.

He had this feeling in intenser degree for the men who had worked with and for him. There was rare confidence between him and the old employees of the Great Northern. He knew them by sight, called them by their first names, would gossip with them about early days, saw that in their age they did not come to want. He trusted them absolutely. When labor troubles were abroad and people advised him not to go about the yards freely, he asked indignantly where he would be safe if it were not among Great Northern men. And his faith was justified. His men not only admired, but loved him. The Great Northern Veterans' Association, which always held its reunions on Mr. Hill's birthday, with him as guest whenever it was possible for him to be present, gave proof of that. Among the mourners at his grave were his own employees. The Great Northern Employees' Investment Company, founded in 1900 by Mr. Hill, was an early and sane example of profit-sharing that has been very successful.

Innumerable honors and titles of distinction sought him, and were met with the simple sincerity that he showed in everything. If they were empty gauds, no matter how highly esteemed or greatly coveted by others, he would have none of them. He refused each year scores of invitations to be guest and speaker at meetings of eminent people on occasions of consequence. None the less did he appreciate recognition of what he had done and was trying to do. It was his work, and not himself, for which he welcomed appreciation; and this distinction was made apparent in acts and words. So he was not indifferent when he was asked to open the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909; when Yale University gave him, in 1910, the degree of LL.D., to be followed afterward by other institutions of learning; when seventy-four of his friends from all parts of the country raised, without his knowledge, a fund

of \$125,000 to establish a professorship of transportation at Harvard, to be named for him. These were real monuments to the achievements of his life; and he warmed, as we all of us do, to the word of appreciation while living, which is worth so many eloquent testimonials after we are gone.

Mr. Hill was always intensely interested in public affairs. He watched them with the eye of a business man, an economist, a patriot. He was always a democrat, whether you spelled it with a capital or without. He felt that results of infinite importance were bound up with the success or failure of this country's experiment in democracy. Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall were types that he admired. To the latter he would, perhaps, have given the palm as the greatest of Americans. Often when people believed that he was advocating or opposing with tremendous earnestness some proposed measure because of its expected effect upon his own interests, he had scarcely given that aspect of it a thought. Every party and every innovation in government were measured by him first, and accepted or rejected, according to what he believed would be their permanent effect upon the institutions of the country. He affiliated naturally, by economic predilection, with the old school Democratic Party. Grover Cleveland approached his political ideal, besides being one of his close personal friends. Like him, he would not follow the party if he believed it false to the public interest and to its own traditions. So he opposed the free silver heresy earnestly and vigorously. It was to prevent the *St. Paul Daily Globe* from passing into the control of the free silver element that Mr. Hill bought it. The people of this section and this city ought to know what use he made of his ownership. As its editor and manager during the first two and the last two years of its history as the property of Mr. Hill, I can attest personally that at no time did there ever once come from him, directly or indirectly, a hint or suggestion as to its editorial conduct or policy. On the only occasion when I asked him for direction, in a matter where my own opinion was still undetermined and where I knew that he had a very large

financial interest without knowing on which side it lay, he refused to say a word. His only instruction, then or ever, was to make the *Globe* a good newspaper, a credit to St. Paul, and to follow my own judgment and conscience in doing so. He had the *Globe* discontinued because, after ten years' experience, with a satisfactory and rapidly growing circulation, the advertising receipts showed a continuous decline. He had said from the first that, if the paper succeeded, he would not accept a dollar of the profits. Convinced that it could not become a financial success, he wound it up just as he would any other business in similar circumstances. There was no feeling about it and no occult reason for it. He did not believe that a newspaper ought to live unless its opinion was honest and untrammelled. Nor did he believe that it ought to live unless it could make an honest living in the world. These two principles he held with reference to all other newspapers as well as the single one he owned, and for which he long cherished great hopes as an instrument in the upbuilding of St. Paul.

All his life bore the stamp of his love of the Northwest. Besides the imperial monument of his railway system, every state in it has lesser memorials in such number that they could not even be listed here. He was at home anywhere, in acquaintance, in reminiscence, in anecdote, in intimate topographical knowledge and familiarity with business conditions, in any one of those seven states that he named collectively "the zone of plenty." Most particularly did he cherish Minnesota, the scene of his earliest struggles and successes. He knew it as a boy might know his native village. He had in mind every watercourse, every coulee, every elevation, all the old trails and stopping-places and landmarks. He was encyclopedic in his information, and could correct offhand any error made in book or article that laid profane hands upon the past. He never forgot those early courses to Fort Garry, those voyages up and down the Red River Valley. He gloried in the growth of the state, and fretted because it did not make greater progress. He was always generous with his time and his means to any plan

which promised advantage to Minnesota. He created at Duluth-Superior the most efficient terminal arrangements in the world. He was a loyal friend to St. Paul and Minneapolis. Both cities were always ready to do him honor. The tie with each ran back to the earliest times, and to a feeling which was as ready to give a stone-arch bridge over the Mississippi to one as a railroad terminal building to the other. His gifts to Minneapolis institutions were manifold. He enriched her art treasures by contributions from his own. St. Paul was his home. Here he had lived as a bachelor. Here he chose the first home for his young wife, a small but comfortable house on Canada Street near Pearl, now called Grove Street. When it became too small, he removed temporarily to Dayton's Bluff, while he built at Ninth and Canada Streets the house that he occupied until his residence on Summit Avenue was ready for occupancy in 1891. In St. Paul were born his three sons and seven daughters, all of whom except one daughter, who died in infancy, survive him. He resisted considerations of convenience that sometimes tempted him to remove to New York. He kept the Great Northern headquarters here, though many overtures were made to him by other cities. Wherever his voice had weight with other railroads and other interests than his own, it spoke for St. Paul. He placed here his great banking institution. He built here his big office building. Here he erected his wonderful library. And whenever personal interest or money consideration was required to bring some enterprise to St. Paul or to enlarge the scope and usefulness of a local institution already existing, Mr. Hill's hand was always active and his purse open. Such misunderstandings as at times arose look insignificant in perspective. He loved St. Paul, and St. Paul loved him, with a deep and enduring affection.

He was interested in the work and progress of this society. Its archeologist, Mr. Warren Upham, has placed at my disposal the results of his researches in its archives. At its meeting on March 9, 1868, five new members were elected: Dr. J. H. Stewart, Dr. D. W. Hand, James J. Hill, J. W. Cunning-

ham, and C. M. Boyle. On December 14, 1868, Mr. Hill was chosen a member of the executive council of the society, and remained such for the forty-seven and a half years between that date and his death. No other member in all its history served for so long a term. In 1869 Mr. Hill was one of a committee to secure suitable addresses for the society's meetings. In 1872 he was made first vice-president. In 1897 he delivered before it an address dealing largely with his early experiences in this state, which remains to-day the fullest source of information about that period of his life. He was always interested in the society's proceedings, and urged it years ago to secure from all the old pioneers a stenographic report of their early recollections, to be used as a basis for historical treatment. His gifts to it were many and valuable. As early as 1869 he contributed twenty-five newspapers, then much needed, to its embryo library. Later on he gave *Travels in the Interior of North America*, by Maximilian, Prince of Wied. This is a work issued from 1832 to 1834, with an atlas of eighty plates, showing views of Indians, buffalo, and other primitive sights on the Missouri River. It is probably the most expensive work in the society's collection. The painting in the reading room, by Alexis Fournier, named "The Chapel of St. Paul," is a gift from Mr. Hill, dating more than twenty years ago. His interest in the society and its work was deepened by his feeling for the old times and his wonderful memory. He cared to have things preserved as he remembered them. His passion for accuracy made a treasury of things of the actual past seem to him a precious thing. His feeling for that past was also an essential part of him. He loved the memory of long days and nights, of conflict with the elements, of escape from the violence of nature and of treacherous man, on the northern trail and out through the western wilderness. Most of all he loved the Mississippi River. He felt a personal relation to it. Up it he had come to fortune and fame. On its shores and through its agency he had learned the elementary lore of transportation. In a certain intimate sense it was "his river." He knew the

name of every spot along its upper reaches, and all their changes. He loved to sweep along the familiar banks in his car. The fresh-water pearls, choice specimens of which he collected, had an added charm for him if they came from the shallows of the Mississippi. There was a mystic bond between the father of the Northwest of to-day and its ancient Father of Waters.

Mr. Hill was a man of engaging personality, and of acquirements that measured up to the level of his great qualities. He was a reader and a student all his days. He sought first the fundamental facts, all the facts, on any subject that appealed to him. Then, with amazing clearness of insight and prescience, he went to the heart of it. His prodigious memory, which relinquished nothing that ever came within its grasp, completed a mental equipment as rare as it was powerful. He found certainty while others were mastering preliminary conditions. He was as genial in his personal relations as he was vigorous and masterful in business. He knew how to command and how to win obedience. He had the will to achieve, and understood how to choose and use his instruments. Woe to the man who stood in the way of the carrying-out of his plans. But his whole disposition was kindly. Brusque at times he was and must be, but he was a man of strong attachments, of pertinacious friendships, of unceasing generosity, of unbending loyalty, of tenderness toward suffering, and of sympathy with unsuccess unless it was due to laziness or dishonesty. For either of these faults he had no tolerance and no pardon. The strongest element in all his strength was the tie that bound him to his home. There lay his happiness. There, he said often, was the key to most of his success. There his affections found security and free play. He was always simple, hating every form of ostentation, loving literature and conversation and science and art, but loving his home and his life there most of all. As a connoisseur of art he stood very high. Not the least amazing thing about this amazing man was the fact that he knew painting and pictures as few men in this country knew

them. He bought not as a mere collector, and on the advice of others, but as an expert and judge of the beautiful. He no more needed or brooked any suggestion in passing on a picture than he did in reviewing a plan of one of his engineers. Subject, feeling, atmosphere, technique, value—he understood it all as if he had been born and educated among studios. Almost the strangest of his manifold gifts was this appreciation and unerring judgment of the beautiful in all its forms: paintings, jewels, tapestries, china, whatever men have agreed to hold precious as enmeshing for one moment the evasive spirit of beauty. The artist in him contended for supremacy with the man of affairs.

Practical estimates of Mr. Hill and of the work that he accomplished in the world find three fields in which he excelled especially: as a railroad builder and manager, as a captain of finance, and as a sound economist, with particular reference to the development and improvement of agriculture. To the first his whole life bears witness, and there his works do follow him. Aside from the great accomplishments of which this Northwest is the living result, two features of his career as a railroad man stand out in strong relief. One was his command of all the elements of construction. His engineers came to him for help in solving their knotty problems. They never found him lacking in original ideas or in information or in sound judgment of the adaptation of means to ends. He was the first to lay down the general rule that railroads should be built with the lowest grades and curves compatible with the economic limits of cost of construction as related to the probable future of traffic. The ensuing lower cost of operation was equivalent to simple interest, for a time, on a larger sum, instead of compound interest, in the shape of higher costs, on a somewhat smaller sum, forever. This made him the most formidable competitor in the Northwest. It relieved him from all fear of successful rivalry and kept the operating ratio of his railroad the despair of others. By this policy he fixed and expressed a principle and established a rule which all other



railroad men in the country were to follow later. Because of low operating cost he was sure of being able not only to bankrupt any rival that should become bumptious enough to try conclusions with him, but also to pay uninterruptedly dividends that made his system a synonym for safe and profitable investment in every capital of Europe as well as all over the United States.

The law of construction just stated has its relation to financing as well as to engineering. Mr. Hill was born with a natural grasp of financial possibilities and relations. He had always made his profit; from the warehouse on the levee, from commissions and shrewd purchases of odd lots that tempted nobody else, from the contract with the St. Paul and Pacific, from the Red River business, from the fuel trade in which his exhaustive knowledge of the coal resources of the Northwest made him a master. The railroad was only a larger opportunity for the exercise of native genius. The boldness of his original plan, which bought a railroad system, consisting so largely of old junk and dishonored bonds, on a modest cash payment and a promise to exchange new securities issued against the same property for old, staggered the men of his own time. In him it was not speculation, but foreknowledge. He knew the country, its future, the present and the coming value in earning power of every battered locomotive and every foot of sagging track. He knew himself and what he could do. From the moment that he was in control, the railroad manager and the financier in him were so merged that neither could be separated from the other or arrested in its career of conquest. He could borrow money at the beginning because he could convince the lender that it would be repaid with interest and profit. It was repaid scrupulously; came back and brought friends and relatives with it. Mr. Hill, after his first year in control, never had any difficulty in getting all the money he needed for any enterprise. All the wonders of financing the transcontinental line, the Pacific extension, the innumerable branch lines and feeders, the great consolidation, the Burlington purchase, were



performed with as little friction or delay as the building of a spur track to somebody's warehouse. Years before his life ended he was consulted on financial problems from one end of the country to the other. He was always in demand at meetings of bankers. His advice was asked by those who had charge of reforming the monetary system of the United States. No big financial transaction was carried through without his participation or friendly counsel, always sought and freely given. It was a fine thing to see how, when others were distracted by all sorts of foolish arguments for or against war loans to the Allies, in times that threw men's judgment off balance because they disturbed clear and quiet thinking, he went straight to the central fact. Our own country, he said, must sell its food products and raw materials abroad, or face business collapse. It could not sell without buyers. Its only customers could not pay cash, but had sound credit to offer. Therefore we must take the loan, not for the advantage of the borrowers, but for our own commercial salvation. In the last year of his life the voice and counsel of Mr. Hill were potent in the financial deliberations of America and of the world.

His services to agriculture do not yield in magnitude or value to those he rendered elsewhere. They have a double relation to his life, because, as he saw it, the farm and the railroad were partners. It was from that conception that the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba was born. The wheels of the Red River carts and the busy gophers brought to the surface soil specimens with a promise of inexhaustible richness. This would attract people. People would need railroads. Railroads bringing people, people creating more railroads, so he visioned the everlasting cycle. Therefore he believed that he was helping the farm when he improved the railroad, and helping the railroad when he showed how to make the farm more prosperous. He always insisted that the lowest freight rates should be those on farm products. He made it relatively cheaper for the farmer of the Northwest to reach his market than for any other in the country. He said over and over to the farmers

that they and the railroad were in the same boat; that if the farm did not prosper there could be no business, and nothing for the railroad to carry. Therefore he focused his attention from a very early day on increasing the number of farmers and the net acre product of the farm. From the period of his early prosperity in St. Paul he had been interested in trotting horses, high-grade animals, and blooded stock. He had a stock farm of his own at Crystal Bay, Lake Minnetonka. A crop failure in 1881, with disaster to the farmers and bad effects to railroad traffic, made him urgent that farm industry should be diversified. He determined that, as he said, the farmer should no longer have all his eggs in one basket. So he began, in 1883, the distribution of high-grade bulls, bought abroad by himself, for free service throughout the counties of the Red River Valley. No matter whether he was understood and appreciated or not, he never relinquished his efforts to raise the quality of all kinds of live stock all over the Northwest. In the last year of his life he was importing the best strains of general purpose cattle, at his own expense, and pushing them out on the farms. As years passed, his activity broadened with his interest. He taught incessantly a better agriculture. Under his direction the Great Northern entered the agronomic field, ran demonstration trains, conducted demonstration plots on farms, analyzed soils, for which purpose Mr. Hill gave the use of the greenhouses attached to his residence, scattered all over the Northwest truths about fertilization and soil conservation and the possibilities of production. He himself kept up a personal campaign in season and out of season. He said that the gospel of better farming must be carried to the man on the land. He sent out missionaries to take it to him. He went himself. Every year he devoted time and strength, such as few men would lavish on their own most important affairs, to talk at county fairs in different parts of the Northwest, to instruct the people how to bring the farm up nearer to the level of its reasonable practical possibilities. If the building of the Great Northern added, as it did, billions of dollars to the value of

the real property in the Northwest, the labors and contributions of Mr. Hill for the improvement of agriculture have added hundreds of millions to the amount and value of the product. This is an influence going on incessantly and giving cumulative returns with each passing year. The railroad, the bank, and the farm are all monuments to this life so magnificently fertile in conception and so tirelessly successful in execution.

I have detained you far too long, and yet I feel that I have barely indicated some of the material that should be included in any formal tribute to the work and character of James J. Hill. In many respects, where his unique genius breaks through all restraints, his life defies the limitations that even a criticism of appreciation must impose; the substance of its quality can not be conveyed within material boundaries and through the incomplete interpretation of words. In a deep and true sense it may be said of him that, like Abou ben Adhem, he loved his fellow men. About him there was no sentimentality—a thing that he abhorred above all others. But he wanted to see everybody prosper legitimately. He wanted society to advance; and right ideas in business, in economic changes, in government, to prevail. He was a very patriotic American; and in nearly every instance where people declared him a pessimist, because he exposed the certain future misfortune that must follow mistakes or refusals to face the obvious truth, it was not himself, but the future of the country, of which he was thinking. He had reached the limit of personal ambition. He was destitute of personal vanity. He had, as he said, more money than he knew what to do with; and its chief value to him was the fact that it had come to him not as a direct product of striving, but as an indirect accompaniment of the pursuit of those larger aims and ideas to which the strength of his will and the soul of his purpose were ever bent. He feared nothing for the future so much as the possible failure of the crucial American experiment in democracy. In the last analysis he brought every proposed innovation in law-making, every novel economic theory, every general principle and every practice that bore upon his own

activity or his own fortune to the same test: What would be its ultimate effect upon the institutions and the political destiny of the United States? His own great enterprises were not the object of a keener or greater solicitude. If his were the powers, his also were the anxieties of the statesman. Nor do I think it partiality or exaggeration to say, after a historic survey and an analytic scrutiny of the time in which he lived, that he was its greatest, its most compelling figure. By the complex, yet singularly even, texture of his being; by the works of his hands; by his interest in, and his service to, the life of the world and its evolution; by the piercing intelligence that commanded both past and future; by mastery of men and consummate art of method; by all the gifts which we call genius because it sets its possessor apart from and above other men; and then by the sense of unity of being and purpose between him and all other men, communities, nations, and the ebb and flow of intellectual and spiritual tides past the shores of our little island in space and out, through the immensities of the universe, he won through heroic service the right to that earthly immortality which destiny herself had allotted to him when she assigned to him these qualities, as winning and as masterful as forces of nature, that accomplish one man's lordship in a world of men.

We are proud to have called our neighbor this man whom all the world honored while he passed so quietly among us with his strong soul and simple word. If his was a mystic gift of prophetic vision, that is part of the dower of the Celt, with it went also the capacity for deep feeling and the incomparable swiftness and strength in action that won for him our admiration. If he had not lived there would, of course, have still been a Minnesota and a Northwest, but as if born out of due season, and how different from what we inherit. He was of national, of international stature. This state named him its greatest living citizen for the Hall of Fame of a national exposition, just as the state of Washington keeps a bust of him on the campus of her university as one whom she delighted to honor. He was of lowly lineage, and the great of the world

felt privileged to know him. In every capital of Europe and in the thronged centers of the Orient his name was familiar. He was of the West, and the East proudly acknowledged his qualities and achievements. What more of honor could be bestowed than the consenting opinion of his own epoch laid in tribute on his grave? To us here belongs the closer and tenderer tie of common local citizenship, of daily association, of the mutual interest and the kindly word and look. This society, old as years go in the youthful genealogical record of the Northwest, is very proud to have carried for nearly half a century on its records the name of the man most distinguished in his time for his accomplishment, for power, for deep understanding and sympathy with the needs, interests, and aspirations of men. He had ideals, in which his city, his state, his country, and his kind were included, and he was faithful to them. That is the last and highest word of praise to be spoken of any man, who is son of earth and also son of heaven. With it, with our regret, our remembrance, our admiration, our wonder, and our love, we may leave to memory and to fame the man who was in himself the builder of empires, the wayfarer on highroads of genius, the tender husband and father, the devoted and unselfish citizen, and the loyal friend.

JOSEPH G. PYLE

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUNTEER ARMY IN 1861 WITH SPECIAL REF- ERENCE TO MINNESOTA<sup>1</sup>

It is the present which gives direction to the study of history. In the piping times of peace historians were concerned chiefly with those things which lay within the sphere of "economic interpretations." When war was to be averted or embraced, even the most orthodox buried themselves in the intricacies of diplomacy and waxed enthusiastic or pessimistic over the growth or decline of international law. Now that the war is at last a reality, we all feel justified in for once indulging our primal instincts and focusing our attention upon military events. It is this inevitable shifting of interest which makes history a subject eternally new. It must be constantly rewritten to fit the times in which we live. In a day when our government is bending every effort towards the raising of a mighty army, nothing could be more appropriate than the refreshing of our memories as to the methods used in assembling another army in 1861.

Lack of preparedness for war is a constant quantity in American history. If, as some say, this condition were a sufficient guarantee of peace, the United States would have had no wars, for we have never been prepared. In 1861 the United States was as unready for war as usual. We had a small regular army, sixteen thousand men at the most, which was engaged in keeping in check the Indians along the western frontier. All of it was needed there. Probably the "mobilization" of enough troops to form a regiment would have been a hazardous undertaking.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the regular army

<sup>1</sup> Read at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, October 15, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> Less than one thousand troops were garrisoned east of the Mississippi

was the militia, largely under state control, unequipped, disorganized, and for the most part utterly useless.

During the winter and spring of 1860-61 it became increasingly evident that the "impending conflict" was at hand. State after state seceded. The *Star of the West*, flying the flag of the United States, was fired on by southern batteries. Attempts at compromise, and at the "reconstruction of the Union," failed dismally. The president-elect, Abraham Lincoln, spoke kind but determined words. This situation did not prevent the federal government from maintaining a state of "masterly inactivity" with respect to military affairs. The people themselves thought less of such things, if possible, than the government. The newspapers preached the "right and duty of coercion," but the legislatures did little to make coercion possible. There was much boasting, but little action.<sup>3</sup> Then on the twelfth of April came the bombardment of Sumter.

River. Many of the inhabitants of the great eastern cities had never set eyes upon a company of regular soldiers. Report of the secretary of war, 1860, in 36 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, pp. 213, 215 (serial 1079); Louis P. A. d'Orleans, Comte de Paris, *History of the Civil War in America*, 1:172 (Philadelphia, 1875).

<sup>3</sup>For example, an act for the reconstruction of the state militia was proposed in Illinois and passed the House in February, 1861. It was allowed to die in the Senate where the chairman of the committee which had the bill in charge, R. J. Oglesby, a Republican, very sagely remarked that should "necessity arise the whole country, having the love of the Union at heart, would rise *en masse*, and, disregarding the hindrances of a militia law, volunteer their services to the proper authority of the State speedily and without delay." "Weak-kneed" Republicans who opposed action of the sort contemplated in the bill disliked to do anything which might further excite the South and the "Egyptian" members. The debates of this session of the Illinois legislature make interesting reading. One member from "Egypt" told the Republicans that "if they wanted a fight they could have it without going out of the State." Another declared his willingness to enforce the laws of the state, but he wanted to know when in the last ten years the militia had been called upon for that purpose. Should the people of the South attempt to invade the North his constituents would oppose them "like a wall of fire," but "if the North were marched upon the South, her forces would be met on the prairies and be made to march over the dead bodies of the men who people them." Illinois, *Senate Journal*, 1861, p. 391; *Chicago Tribune*, January 12, 1861.



War, so long a probability, became now an actuality, but to prosecute a war armies were necessary. How were these armies to be raised?

The constitution of the United States gives to Congress the right to "raise and support armies." Under such authority the regular army had been created and was still maintained. No other army of the United States existed. Congress, and Congress alone, could enlarge that army or legislate a new army into existence. But Congress was not in session; it could not be immediately assembled; and it was then as now incapable of expeditious action. Naturally the administration cast about for other means to accomplish its purpose, or at least to serve as a temporary expedient.

The expedient, for such it certainly was, the government found in an old militia law. The Constitution not only gives to Congress the right to raise armies, but it also declares that Congress shall have the power "to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections, and repel Invasions." Acting upon this authority, Congress in 1795 passed a law giving authority to the president to call out the militia of the several states, or any portion thereof, whenever such an emergency as was contemplated by the Constitution should arise. Certain rather formidable restrictions were placed upon the president's action. First, no militiaman could be "compelled to serve more than three months, after his arrival at the place of rendezvous, in any one year," and second, the militia so called forth might not be continued in service longer than "thirty days after the commencement of the then next session of Congress."<sup>4</sup>

When the news from Sumter arrived, Lincoln did the only thing he could do. He ordered the governors of the states which had not seceded to furnish him with seventy-five

<sup>4</sup> Article 1, section 8 of the Constitution of the United States. The statement of the law is positive rather than negative: "the use of militia so called forth may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the then next session of Congress." United States, *Statutes at Large*, 1: 424.



thousand state militia to serve for three months time. In the same proclamation he called Congress together, presumably with the idea of requesting the only body which had any real authority in the matter to make further provision for troops if necessary. Later on Lincoln was not at all squeamish about the niceties of constitutional interpretation, but in his first war paper he left little room for criticism on that score. He had back of him the Constitution, the law, and a decision of the Supreme Court upholding the validity of the law. Only an out and out secessionist like the governor of Missouri could say: "Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its object, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with."<sup>5</sup> Such fine fervor, with equal lack of patriotism and logic, has its counterpart in certain present day denunciations of the conscription law.

Uninformed critics have wasted much breath in censuring the administration for the lack of foresight shown in calling only seventy-five thousand men and specifying so short a time as three months. Lincoln probably did not greatly underestimate the task before him. The law of 1795 explains why the term of service was to be for no longer than three months, and, apart from other considerations, the absence of a really effective state militia shows why a call for more than seventy-five thousand such troops would have appeared preposterous.

<sup>5</sup> In deciding the case of *Martin v. Mott*, February 2, 1827, Justice Story had declared in no uncertain terms that the constitutionality of the law of 1795 was not open to question, and that the "authority to decide whether the exigency has arisen, belongs exclusively to the President, and that his decision is conclusive upon all other persons." 12 Wheaton, 30. For the answers to the president's proclamation given by slave state governors see James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, 3: 393 (New York, 1895), and John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, a History*, 4: 90 (New York, 1890). The president's proclamation calling Congress into session and requisitioning troops, together with other interesting documents relative thereto, may be found in the *American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events*, 1861, pp. 715. A table showing the quotas assigned to each state is given in *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, serial 122, p. 69.

On paper, the militia system of the United States furnished the nation with a formidable army. The Constitution authorized Congress "to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." By an act passed in 1792 and subsequently amended, Congress sought to carry out the intent of the Constitution. All male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years were to be enrolled by the several states and held liable for service. An adjutant general in each state, in practice appointed by the governor, was to have supervision over military affairs within his territory. Nothing was done, however, to prevent the various state legislatures from elaborating upon the federal law as they saw fit. The result was that in nearly all the states there were constructed impressive paper organizations, always based upon the principle of universal enrollment, but differing widely as to details, and useful chiefly as a means of furnishing flattering statistics for a people not then noted for its modesty.<sup>6</sup>

Ignoring its statistical value, the militia system was suited at best only to the day "when every man's cabin was his fortress." For most of America that day had passed. Minnesota, owing to its proximity to the Indian frontier, should have had an effective militia if such a thing were possible anywhere. Yet the adjutant general in his report for 1861 deplored the "present weakness of the military force, as well as the absolute inefficiency of the Militia system of our State." According to a law of 1858 the state possessed six divisions,

<sup>6</sup> Article 1, section 8 of the Constitution; *Statutes at Large*, 1: 271-274. The Minnesota militia law, which is fairly typical, may be found in Minnesota, *General Laws*, 1858, pp. 232-254. The paper strength of the total militia of the United States was rated by the secretary of war in 1861 as 3,167,936. "Returns of Militia," in 36 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 53, p. 5 (serial 1100).

twelve brigades, twenty-eight regiments—in all, 24,389 citizens enrolled for military duty. Actually, Minnesota could count on the services of one hundred and forty-seven officers, and about two hundred men. That even this small number could be made available was due to the custom, common to most of the states, of recognizing a few volunteer companies, who uniformed themselves and drilled at their own discretion, entirely without compensation.<sup>7</sup> Arms, distributed by the federal government to the several states, were generally provided for well-organized companies, but all too frequently, as interest in the organization flagged, these arms were lost or were allowed to deteriorate through lack of care. On the sixteenth of April, 1861, when the first call for troops was made in Minnesota, the remnants of only eight volunteer militia companies could be detected by the state adjutant general, and these were most imperfectly equipped. Nor was Minnesota far below the average in military efficiency.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> During the years from 1856 to 1860 there had been a lively interest in militia companies. Possibly this had been awakened by the events of the Crimean War and the lack of preparedness which had characterized England's participation in it. Nearly every American city of any size had its militia company, gorgeously arrayed, and drilled to perform all sorts of spectacular feats. Chicago prided herself especially upon a company of "Zouaves" which had been organized in 1856 and under Captain E. Elmer Ellsworth had attained rare efficiency. The interest in military drill seems to have died down with the rise of the more lively sports, such as baseball, but as late as 1860 Ellsworth's Zouaves made a tour of the country, arousing great enthusiasm wherever they went. The company was disbanded in October, 1860, when its leader left Chicago. Ellsworth will be remembered as the first Union officer to be killed in the war. J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders*, 2: 32-35, 113 (Chicago, 1912). The "Wide Awakes" and the "Little Giants," respectively Republican and Democratic marching clubs, were another manifestation of this same enthusiasm. Both organizations existed in St. Paul and were of material assistance to the government when the war broke out. J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the City of Saint Paul and the County of Ramsey*, 396 (M. H. C. vol. 4); *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul) June 12, 1861; *Saint Paul Daily Press*, August 18, 1861.

<sup>8</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 2: 490; 10: 639; Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 231. According to its governor, the state of Illinois, whose population was ten times as great as that of Minnesota, had less than eight hundred

In each of the loyal states the War Department orders to "detach" from the local militia its proportionate share of the seventy-five thousand troops called out was received as an amiable legal fiction, and recruiting was begun. To all intents and purposes, Lincoln had called for volunteers, but his action made the states individually responsible for the raising of the quotas assigned to them and relieved the federal government entirely of this burden. In every northern state this responsibility was assumed without the slightest hesitation. What happened in Minnesota may be taken as typical of what was going on elsewhere.

When the Civil War broke out, Minnesota was one of the youngest states of the Union. Admitted in 1858, the new commonwealth had by 1860 a population of about 172,000, which a year later, residents confidently agreed, had grown to at least 200,000. St. Paul, at the head of the navigation on the Mississippi River, was the largest town in the state. It boasted some 10,000 inhabitants, nearly half of whom were foreign born. It had two daily papers. Railroads there were none; connections with eastern lines were made by way of steam-boats to La Crosse and Prairie du Chien. Other evidences of frontier conditions are not hard to find. One summer day in 1861 the St. Paul Daily Press complained that "about a hundred men (?) and half-grown boys went out on Wabashaw Street Hill yesterday afternoon to witness a dog fight. The police did not learn of it in time to break it up." A correspondent wrote to the same paper a few days later that "our old acquaintances, the Winnebagoes, were thick in the streets of Mankato while we were there. Their reservation . . . is within a few miles of the town; and when they get hold of whiskey . . . they are very troublesome to the

uniformed militia. Illinois, *Senate Journal*, 1861, p. 26. Massachusetts, with possibly five thousand effective militia, was better prepared to meet Lincoln's call than any other state. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1861, p. 451; Rhodes, *United States*, 3:362; James Schouler, *History of the United States*, 6:42 (New York, 1899).

inhabitants." Agriculture, lumbering, and fur-trading were the sources of practically all the wealth the state possessed.<sup>9</sup>

The governor of Minnesota, Alexander Ramsey, chanced to be in Washington when the news from Sumter arrived. He at once hastened to the war department and offered a thousand men from Minnesota for the defence of the government, the first tender of troops from any quarter after the fall of the Charleston fortress made war an accomplished fact. On the fifteenth of April the president's proclamation was published, assigning as Minnesota's quota in the new army a regiment of not less than 780 men. On the sixteenth, Ignatius Donnelly, as acting governor, issued the call. Troops were to be accepted only by companies, and the preference was given to the eight volunteer militia organizations supposedly in existence, provided they could recruit to minimum strength within ten days. With this exception, companies were to be received in the order offered, and to take rank accordingly.<sup>10</sup>

The scenes which so recently marked the entrance of the United States into the World War make it easy for us to picture what happened in April, 1861. The St. Paul flag supply was exhausted. Democratic newspapers headed their columns with Decatur's words: "Our Country, May it ever

<sup>9</sup> *United States Census*, 1860, volume on population, 253, 259, 261. In his message to the legislature, January, 1862, Governor Ramsey claimed 200,000 inhabitants for the state. *Executive Documents*, 1861, p. 4. The population of Ramsey County is listed by the census of 1860 as 6,641 native born, and 5,509 foreign born. The proportion of people in the state speaking foreign languages is suggested by a resolution introduced in the state senate in January, 1861, which proposed the printing of copies of the governor's message, three thousand in English, one thousand in German, and five hundred in Norwegian. Some house members wished to add five hundred in Swedish and five hundred in French. *Senate Journal*, 1861, p. 42; *House Journal*, 1861, p. 45; *Pioneer and Democrat*, January 11, 15, 1862. A good description of Minnesota society during this period is to be found in Joseph G. Pyle, *Life of James J. Hill*, 1:24-28 (New York, 1917). See also *St. Paul Press*, June 5, 8, 1861.

<sup>10</sup> *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, p. 67; governor's message, in January, 1862, *Executive Documents*, 1861, p. 26; Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 231; *St. Paul Press*, April 18, 1861.

be Right; but Right or Wrong, Our Country." Preachers took patriotic texts and expounded them to audiences for once attentive. Mass meetings were called in every village. All this happened with the greatest spontaneity. In one respect, at least, the demonstrations differed markedly from those of April, 1917; people had an immediate object, namely, the raising of an assigned quota of volunteers. Speakers pointed out this duty with emphasis. Sometimes a roll was opened after a meeting, and all who wished to form themselves into a company of volunteers inscribed on it their names. The officers of the old militia companies made strenuous efforts to recruit their commands to full strength before the ten days allowed for this purpose should expire. Captain Alexander Wilkin of the Pioneer Guards, St. Paul's crack militia company, advertised for "able bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five . . . to enroll their names at J. C. Becht's Saloon, Third street, without delay." The state adjutant general received names in his office for a company of St. Paul volunteers and was later rewarded by the captaincy of the company. This activity was distributed evenly throughout the state. St. Anthony and Minneapolis threatened to raise two or three companies, and the St. Charles Hotel announced that owing to the fact that all the able bodied men among its employes "to the number of seven have enlisted for the wars, the hotel will probably be closed in a few days." April 22, six volunteers arrived in St. Paul from Pine Bend, "a village of only fifteen families," too small to recruit a company of its own. When the ten days had expired, it was found that three of the old militia companies were ready for service and that eleven new volunteer companies, representing nearly every part of the state, had been formed. If only a little more time could have been allowed, many others would have been ready.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 17, 19, 28, 1861; *St. Paul Press*, April 18, 21, 23, 1861; *Northfield Telegraph*, May 1, 1861; Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 82. General Grant gives an interesting description of these activities in his home town in Illinois. When the news from Sumter

The instructions from Washington were that the Minnesota regiment should be prepared to receive marching orders by the tenth of May. In the meantime, the troops were to rendezvous at St. Paul, where they should complete their organization. On the twenty-seventh of April, the adjutant general announced the ten lucky companies chosen to form the First Minnesota, and since no suitable quarters could be found in St. Paul, he ordered them to report as speedily as possible at Fort Snelling. This plan met with universal approval. The fort was described as "an old military post at the confluence of the Minnesota river with the Mississippi, six miles above St. Paul." In Indian times it had been one of the great strategic points of the northwest, but the advance of civilization had made its abandonment possible. In 1861 it was in the hands of civilians, but the officers' quarters, barracks, and other buildings were reported to be in a good state of repair, and ready for occupation once more by an armed body of men. It became the rendezvous and drill ground for all the troops which Minnesota subsequently furnished for the war.<sup>12</sup>

The regiment was assembled and organized with amazing rapidity. On the twenty-seventh, three companies came up

was received at Galena, followed by the call for volunteers, posters were stuck up calling for a mass meeting at the court house in the evening. Grant presided. Patriotic speeches were made by Democrats and Republicans alike. After the speaking was over volunteers were called for to form a company. The company was raised and the officers elected on the spot. Grant declined the captaincy, but announced that he would aid the company in every way possible. Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, 1:230-231 (New York, 1885). This account differs in no essential respect from the story of the organization of the Red Wing company given in Joseph W. Hancock, *Goodhue County, Minnesota, Past and Present*, 141 (Red Wing, 1893). Both are typical of what happened in the smaller towns and villages of the North.

<sup>12</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, pp. 82, 231; *St. Paul Press*, April 30, 1861. See also General Richard W. Johnson, "Fort Snelling from its Foundation to the Present Time," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8:427-448, and Marcus L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling (Iowa and War, no. 1, July, 1917)*.



the river, one each from Faribault, Red Wing, and Hastings, and were quartered in the city over Sunday. By Monday, April 29, every company was on hand, the Stars and Stripes once again appeared on the flagstaff at Fort Snelling, and mustering-in by an officer of the United States Army was begun. During the latter ceremony a surgeon was present, but physical examinations were not rigorous. Only a few men were rejected. By April 30 the organization was complete. In the selection of officers the militia law of Minnesota was supposed to govern. This gave the governor the right to appoint all commissioned officers, but in practice companies elected their own officers, who were then commissioned by the governor. The captains appointed the "non-coms," and the governor appointed the field officers, consisting of a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major. From the roll of lieutenants the colonel then appointed the adjutant. The selection of ex-Governor Willis A. Gorman, a veteran of the Mexican War, as colonel of the First Regiment was favorably received, and drill was immediately begun.<sup>13</sup>

Minnesota had been asked for a regiment of 780 men. Within two weeks' time she had ready nearly a thousand, and everyone knew that as many more could have been obtained for the asking. Nor had the loyal section of the country as a whole been less generous. In spite of the failure of several border states to coöperate, the call for 75,000 men produced a total of 98,235, and the loyal governors literally deluged Washington with telegrams asking permission to receive more troops. If Lincoln had had any doubt as to the willingness of the country to support him in the stand he had taken, these doubts were now allayed. Realizing the seriousness of the

<sup>13</sup> April 30, Governor Ramsey sent word to Washington that one regiment of nine hundred men was ready for service. *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, p. 138; *St. Paul Press*, April 25, 30, 1861; Minnesota, *General Laws*, 1858, p. 233; *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865*, 1:3 (2d edition, St. Paul, 1891). For a more extended account see *History of the First Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1864* (Stillwater, 1916).



approaching struggle, the administration therefore decided to make more adequate preparations. Before the end of April word had been given out that no more three months troops would be accepted, and on the third of May the president issued a proclamation calling for 42,034 volunteers for three years or during the war, 22,714 additional men for the regular army, and 18,000 seamen to be used in making the blockade of the southern coast effective. All this the president did without the slightest authority of law. He was evidently convinced that his action was demanded by the exigency of the situation, and that the hearty response of the people to his initial call warranted him in disregarding the lack of legal or constitutional authority. Congress alone had the right to raise armies, and the extra-constitutionality of his action Lincoln in effect admitted when he promised that the "call for volunteers hereby made, and the direction for the increase of the regular army and for the enlistment of seamen, hereby given, together with the plan of organization adopted for the volunteers and for the regular forces hereby authorized, will be submitted to Congress as soon as assembled." He knew that this work ought not to be longer delayed if the Union were to be preserved.<sup>14</sup>

The plan for the new volunteer army was set forth in General Orders number 15 of the war department,<sup>15</sup> and

<sup>14</sup> Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, 4:86, 255; 7:8 note; Rhodes, *United States*, 3:438. Lincoln's proclamation of May 3, authorizing the army and navy increases, may be found in Abraham Lincoln, *Complete Works*, 6:263-265 (Nicolay and Hay edition, New York, 1894). "These measures," said Lincoln, "whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon, under what appeared to be a popular demand, and a public necessity; trusting then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them." Message of July, 1861, in 37 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 9 (serial 1112). Congress later confirmed Lincoln in what he had done, but with manifest reluctance. *Statutes at Large*, 12:326; *Congressional Globe*, 37 Congress, 1 session, p. 392.

<sup>15</sup> Printed in full in *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, pp. 151-154, and in the *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 18, 1861. In the call for state militia the president had been under the necessity of accepting state appointments for general as well as regimental officers. These could be assigned only

endured, with slight variations, throughout the war. Pressure of business in the office of the secretary of war had thrown to the treasury department the task of drawing up the system of organization, and the imprint upon it of Secretary Chase, a former Democrat of states' rights proclivities, can be plainly discerned. Under his direction an informal committee of three army officers worked out the details. The most important result of their deliberations was the decision to take every advantage of state coöperation. A plan for a distinctly national army, using the congressional districts as the unit for recruitment, was rejected. Instead, the governors were given authority to commission officers up to and including the grade of colonel, regiments were to be raised by, and to bear the name of, their respective states, and only the appointment of the general officers and the disposal of the troops, once they were mustered into service, were left to the president. As one writer puts it: "The Government sought to save the Union by fighting as a Confederacy."<sup>16</sup>

to the more populous states, and obviously under such a system many difficulties were sure to arise. The necessity of federal appointment of the higher officers was not open to question. In the new army each division, under the command of a major general, was to consist of about fourteen thousand men organized into three or more brigades. Four regiments ordinarily made a brigade, and ten companies a regiment. The companies had, besides nineteen officers, a minimum of sixty-four and a maximum of eighty-two privates. Brigades and divisions were not necessarily composed of men from the same state and in practice were formed of almost as diverse elements as the "rainbow" divisions of the national guard with which we are now familiar.

<sup>16</sup> Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States*, 233-235, 275 (Washington, 1912). General Upton goes on to show that the methods of North and South in conducting the war were diametrically opposed. The North made use of state initiative, the South sought to overthrow the national government by fighting as a nation. "The Government recognized the States, appealed to them for troops, adhered to voluntary enlistments, gave the governors power to appoint all commissioned officers and encouraged them to organize new regiments. The Confederates abandoned State sovereignty, appealed directly to the people, took away from them [the governors] the power to appoint commissioned officers, vested their appointment in the Confederate President, refused to organize war regiments, abandoned voluntary enlistments, and adopting the republican

There was as little delay as possible about putting the new system into operation. Some of the three months troops were already in active service and were allowed to finish out the term for which they had enlisted. But, whenever possible, the state militia in the national service was reorganized in conformity with General Orders number 15. In Minnesota this could be accomplished without difficulty. The secretary of war sent word that all men who were willing should be reënlisted for three years, and that all others should be mustered out. In conformity with these orders, about three hundred and fifty men who refused to enlist for the lengthened term were promptly discharged, and recruits were sought to fill the ranks. Within three weeks after the president's second call, the regiment was again at maximum strength.<sup>17</sup>

In no part of the country did the lengthened term of service noticeably reduce the enlistment fever. Possibly in defiance of the Constitution, certainly without authority of law, and frequently over the orders of the war department, dozens of regiments literally forced their way into the federal service. Before Congress could assemble on the fourth of July to ratify what had been done, the army of the United States had swollen to a total of 310,000 men. The defeat at Bull Run on the twenty-first of July added further impetus to the work. Next day Congress authorized an army of 500,000 men to be

principle that every citizen owes his country military service, called into the army every white man between the ages of 18 and 35."

<sup>17</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 83; *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, p. 161; *St. Paul Press*, May 11, 14, 1861; *Press and Democrat*, May 12, 15, 1861. The three months' troops of some of the states could not be induced to reënlist. On May 28, 1861, the six regiments which Illinois had put into the field were given an opportunity by presidential proclamation to enter the three years' service. No regiment was to be received in which more than one-fifth of the men declined to revoluteer. In case of regiments received, the men who had not revoluteered were to be mustered out at once. Regiments which declined to offer themselves for the longer term were to remain in service until the three months for which they had enlisted should expire. Not one of the Illinois regiments reënlisted under the terms offered. *Weekly Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), June 5, 1861.

organized in accordance with the principles laid down by the war department, and Lincoln, thus legally fortified, called for 300,000 more volunteers. By the end of the year the federal army numbered 687,000 men.<sup>18</sup>

In the raising of this great army Minnesota played an entirely creditable part. Before the end of the year, the aggregate of troops furnished by the state, as given by the adjutant general, was 4,400, a number greater than the entire population of Minnesota in 1850, and more than equal to the quota assigned. It must not be forgotten that all this took place with the minimum of assistance from the central government. For months the only direct representative of the United States in Minnesota associated with the raising of the army was the mustering officer, a captain of the regular army, who formally accepted the troops when the state had them ready. No responsibility which the state could assume was taken by the general government. This division of labor was fortunate. Without the energetic and effective intervention of the states, it is difficult to see how the war could have been won.<sup>19</sup>

Many governors, finding themselves overwhelmed with difficulties, called their legislatures into special session and unloaded upon them a part of the work. Such, for example, was the course which Governor Yates of Illinois adopted with excellent results. The Illinois legislature left nothing undone

<sup>18</sup> Reports of the secretary of war, July and December, 1861, in 37 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 21 (serial 1112), and 37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 3 (serial 1118); Rhodes, *United States*, 3: 360; Ida M. Tarbell, *Abraham Lincoln*, 2: 42 (New York, 1900).

<sup>19</sup> Governor's message, January, 1862, in *Executive Documents*, 1861, p. 27; Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 86. See also correspondence of Minnesota state officials and the war department in *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, pp. 467-469, 528, 533, 569, 587, 592, 593, 604, 727. Not every state raised the required number of troops so promptly as Minnesota. The *St. Paul Press* pointed out, November 27, 1861, that Ohio with a quota of 61,000 men had raised not more than 45,000, and that New Jersey with a quota of 17,420 men had only 9,000 under arms. Few states could equal the record of Illinois, which by the end of November had raised 46,000 men, when her quota was only 44,400.

to place the state on a warlike footing. Ten regiments, one from each congressional district, and one additional, were authorized, to be held in reserve pending a presidential call. As soon as raised, these troops were sent to camps fitted out at state expense and were paid the same wages as soldiers accepted by the federal government. To cover the cost of this proposition an appropriation of a million dollars was made; half a million more was to be used for the purchase of arms and to build a powder magazine, and another two millions was set aside for general purposes of state defence and national aid.<sup>20</sup>

That the coöperation of the Minnesota legislature was not immediately sought by the governor was due mainly to the poverty of the new state. While in Washington, Governor Ramsey explained to the secretary of war that Minnesota finances were in a somewhat critical condition and asked that the general government furnish the necessary clothing, arms, and equipment. This proposition was readily agreed to. Inasmuch as it was proposed in any event to reimburse the states out of the federal treasury for their war expenditures, the assistance which the Minnesota legislature might have given would have been only in the nature of a temporary loan. Moreover, the older states had full treasuries and abundant credit and could afford to advance the funds necessary to put their troops in the field. "But it would have been folly," the Governor explained, "for a State like ours, with a barren treasury, to have emulated the example of New York or Pennsylvania. If the Legislature had been convoked in extra session for this purpose, the required sum could only have been raised by the issue of bonds or treasury warrants, at a great sacrifice; and, without resulting in any substantial benefit to the Government, would have entailed a large addition to our own embarrassment."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Illinois, *Session Laws*, special session, 1861, pp. 10-30; *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 7, 1861.

<sup>21</sup> Governor's message, January, 1862, in *Executive Documents*, 1861, p. 26; also printed in the *Pioneer and Democrat*, January 10, 1862. The

While Minnesota thus sought to rely more upon national assistance than some of the other states, it does not follow that the expected aid was immediately forthcoming. The adjutant general and other interested officials were often at their wit's ends to know what course to pursue. Individual initiative, coupled with a spirit of patriotic coöperation, made possible what often appeared to be hopeless tasks.

The mere raising of men was no easy matter. June 12, 1861, the federal government announced that a second regiment would be accepted. Five companies were mustered in within a week, but the rest were obtained only slowly. Along the frontier were three forts, Ridgley, Ripley, and Abercrombie, where small garrisons were always kept to insure the safety of the outlying settlements in case of Indian uprisings. In the first days of the war the regular troops which had been stationed at these posts were recalled, and Minnesota volunteers were ordered to take their places, a most unwelcome task. It became the custom to make each new regiment serve an apprenticeship of this sort. Before the battle of Bull Run the North looked forward to speedy victory, and it therefore seemed at this time that enlistment for residents of Minnesota meant only garrison duty. If the regiment were ordered to the seat of war, one paper declared, it would be filled within twenty-four hours, but men were loath to spend their summer at the forts. The fact that the harvest season was at hand also slowed down enlistments, while the complaints of poor equipment and mistreatment on the part of members of the First Minnesota, who were getting their first taste of real soldiering, may have been a further deterrent. The battle of Bull Run brought an urgent request for the filling of the regiment, but not until the harvest and heavy working season was over did the recruiting become brisk enough to bring the

course of the governor in avoiding an extra session is defended in the *St. Paul Press*, June 28, 1861. It is vigorously assailed in the *Pioneer and Democrat*, June 18, 22, 1861.

Second Regiment to maximum strength. In October it was ordered to the front.<sup>22</sup>

The calls now came thick and fast. Two more regiments were apportioned to Minnesota by a dispatch of the secretary of war to the governor, dated September 17. A fifth regiment was authorized December 5, and at various times one company of sharpshooters, one battery of artillery, and three companies of light cavalry were accepted.<sup>23</sup>

Two steps were necessary whenever it was decided to enlarge the number of volunteers. In the first place, the president was required to issue a proclamation stating the number of troops desired and the states from which they were to be furnished. In any such requisition he was expected to take into consideration the number of men previously furnished by each state, as well as "the exigencies of the service at the time," and to equalize so far as practicable the quotas assigned. The second step in the process was for the governor to publish the president's call, asking for volunteers from the state at large. No effort was made, as a rule, to equalize the quotas among the various counties or sections within the state, but those first offering themselves were first accepted, and so on,

<sup>22</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, pp. 84, 238; *Minnesota State News* (Minneapolis), July 13, 1861; *St. Paul Press*, July 16, August 8, 1861. When several companies of the First Minnesota were ordered to the frontier resolutions were addressed to the governor stating that the regiment was tendered for immediate service "to vindicate the laws, retake the forts and property of . . . the Government . . . and to permanently establish the Union of the States." Home Guards, it was contended, should have been organized to protect the frontier. Nevertheless, orders had to be obeyed, and several companies headed toward the forts. They were almost immediately recalled, however, and it is to be doubted if any regiment from the state saw more strenuous service than did the First Minnesota. *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 9, 1861. The efforts of the governor to secure the acceptance of the First Minnesota for service at the front appear in *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, pp. 229, 268, 270, 272.

<sup>23</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, pp. 84, 248; *St. Paul Press*, September 19, 1861. A full statement of troops furnished down to that date is given in a dispatch to the secretary of war dated January 17, 1862, in *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, p. 802.



until the required number was obtained. It can readily be seen that the success of this system depended wholly upon the popular response. The president might have called upon the governors in vain for troops had not the people of each state rallied to the support of their respective executives.<sup>24</sup>

In Minnesota, as elsewhere, whenever a call for troops was received, a proclamation was issued by the governor through the office of the adjutant general, setting forth exactly what was expected of the state. Although this proclamation was important news, to insure its prompt and full publication, Minnesota newspapers were generally authorized to give it two insertions at state expense. Following the call, it was expected that public meetings would be held in each locality to stimulate enlistments and, if possible, to start a muster roll. Although there was occasional talk of the need of more systematic effort to encourage enlistment, patriotic individuals sufficient to see that this work was done were rarely lacking. Neither in state nor nation did America possess a bureaucracy upon which such extraordinary labor could be thrust, hence, volunteers for recruiting service were as essential as volunteers to fill the ranks themselves. This was especially true in view of the fact that no one looked for the men to offer their services directly to the state. They were first expected to organize themselves into companies, and only with this larger unit did the state have time to deal. Obviously such a policy would never have worked without adequate voluntary leadership.<sup>25</sup>

It was essential, then, that prominent individuals in each locality should shoulder the task of raising companies, or parts

<sup>24</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 12:268. The adjutant general of Iowa saw no reason why the counties should not be compelled to fill their quotas and went so far as to propose a state draft to fill the national quotas. The boards of supervisors of the various counties according to this plan were to report the names and residences of all able-bodied men liable to military duty, and from these lists deficiencies were to be made up. Iowa, Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1861, p. 8; *St. Paul Press*, September 28, 1861.

<sup>25</sup> *St. Paul Press*, September 19, 25, 1861; Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1:173.



of companies. Generally such an individual could feel certain that he would be rewarded by a commission, and thus ambition was added to the incentive of patriotism. There was considerable complaint about the "tricks, palaver and 'soft soap' of the political candidate." One outraged recruit declared that "the misrepresentations, lies and impositions that were practiced by some of those who were working for recruits, in order that they might become officers in some of the companies, would cause Ananias, the patron saint of liars, to blush for shame. 'Enlist in my company and I will make you orderly sergeant or sergeant or corporal, musician or company clerk!'" The worst of it was that the offices were limited in number, while the promises frequently were not. Officers sometimes entered upon their duties with small reputation for truth and veracity. "But they seemed to care nothing for that. They had got in; donned their shoulder straps, 'old cheese knives,' and were ready to be respected and obeyed accordingly."<sup>26</sup> This, however, is only one side of the story. The prospective officers assumed grave responsibilities. Frequently they had to bear the cost of elaborate advertising, of transportation, and even of subsistence, pending the acceptance of their men. They must abandon their business and devote themselves unreservedly to the task of recruiting. If their companies were not immediately accepted, they must nevertheless maintain the organization and do what they could to perfect the drill. But for the efforts of the individuals who became company officers, Minnesota, at least, could never have filled her quotas.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Alonzo L. Brown, *History of the Fourth Regiment of Minnesota Infantry Volunteers during the Great Rebellion, 1861-1865*, 21 (St. Paul, 1892).

<sup>27</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 233; *St. Paul Press*, September 22, 1861. In the more populous states men of sufficient means and influence undertook the raising of whole regiments and even brigades. The governors would frequently promise to any so disposed the command of the troops they raised. Sometimes, also, in the early months of the war, such regiments were accepted directly by the federal government, but this led to such confusion in the assignment of quotas and commissions

The opportunity to enlist along with his acquaintances in a company raised almost entirely in his own town and officered by his friends appealed strongly to the average recruit. How great a difference this made in the number of volunteers, may be estimated by a comparison with the number of recruits obtained for the regular army. Only about forty thousand men were to be raised for the regular service in the whole country, but by the end of 1861 that number had not been reached by fully one-half. During the same time more than six hundred thousand men entered the volunteer army. Recruiting officers for the regular army were maintained both in St. Paul and in Minneapolis, but almost the only mention they received concerned their lack of success. While other considerations undoubtedly contributed to the unpopularity of the regular army, the chief reason for its failure to fill its ranks was that it offered no opportunity for men who knew each other to enlist together.<sup>28</sup>

Among the colleges of the North the appeal of enlistment by groups had the same effect in 1861 as it has had to-day. The organization of numerous hospital and ambulance units from the ranks of college students, which we have witnessed during the last few months, has met with such extraordinary success, not because college men are predisposed towards any such service, but because there is no other way in which they can keep their group identity. Had the orders come for enlistment by companies in infantry, or artillery, or cavalry, or marine corps, or naval reserves, the response would have been the same. In 1861, Hamline University, then located at Red Wing, Minnesota, was the most pretentious institution of

that the practice was speedily discontinued. Colonel D. A. Robertson, in command of the Twenty-third Regiment of Minnesota Militia, made strenuous efforts to raise a complete regiment in Minnesota. *St. Paul Press*, May 5, 10, 18, June 12, 1861; *Pioneer and Democrat*, June 14, 1861; *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, p. 200.

<sup>28</sup> Report of the secretary of war, December, 1861, in 37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, pp. 4, 10 (serial 1118); *St. Paul Press*, November 26, December 10, 1861. See also Upton, *Military Policy*, 235-238, and Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1:288.

higher learning in the state. It furnished one-fifth of Goodhue County's first company. In 1862, Professor H. B. Wilson, together with a full company of Hamline students, enlisted in the Sixth Minnesota. Three successive senior classes were broken up by enlistments, and during the war the institution sent a total of 119 of its students to the front—practically every available man.<sup>29</sup> The record of this Minnesota college is typical of the colleges throughout the North.

Citizens of foreign birth, especially the Germans and Irish, ordinarily formed themselves into separate companies. The resolutions of some of the German mass meetings make even more interesting reading to-day than they did in 1861. One enthusiastic St. Paul gathering on the evening of April 22 declared that:

Whereas, an aristocratic party has by revolutionary means, usurped the government of some of the slaveholding states, and taken forcible possession of the United States property, and threatens not only to put an end to the rights of freemen, which are guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution, but also to open a new home to the dying out despotisms of Europe on the free soil of North America, it is,

Resolved, That the Germanborn citizens of St. Paul, will, till our last breath, remain true to our oaths, and will support the Constitution of the United States.

Measures taken at this meeting resulted in the speedy organ-

<sup>29</sup> William C. Rice, "Hamline Always Loyal," in *Hamline University, Alumni Quarterly*, vol. 14:7 (October, 1917). Divinity students did not then plead exemption, for many of the Hamline men were candidates for the Methodist ministry. "The Red Wing company," says the *Pioneer and Democrat* of May 23, 1861, "are models in some respects. About half of them are tetotalers, and the same proportion members of churches. They hold a prayer meeting in their quarters every evening." After the battle of Bull Run in which the First Minnesota stood and fought, while many other regiments ran away, and during which four Hamline students, among others, were killed or captured, the *St. Paul Press* gave space to the following: "The boys from Hamline University will be remembered for their soldierly bearing, their prayer meetings at Fort Snelling, their bravery on the field of battle, and their terrible loss in the first conflict." *St. Paul Press*, August 7, 1861. See also the issue of December 19, 1861.

ization of a German military company. Nor is this the only instance of the kind on record. Similar companies were formed throughout the state. The military training which most of the Germans had received before coming to America made their services particularly desirable. A company of veteran Germans constituted the first cavalry offered by Minnesota for the war.<sup>30</sup>

Although the organization of an Irish company was projected in St. Paul within a few days after the fall of Sumter, it must be admitted that, as a whole, the Irish volunteered less readily than the Germans. Towards the end of the year steps were taken to remedy this situation. In December, 1861, in response to the desires of Irish citizens, the Fifth Minnesota regiment was authorized. Volunteers for this regiment were not confined to any one nationality, but it was understood that the Irish had the right of way. "Irish fellow countrymen to arms!" ran one advertisement, "Now is the time to stand by the Stars and Stripes, and help to preserve the Union! Every loyal State has sent forth an Irish regiment: shall Minnesota be an only exception?" By the spring of 1862, the regiment, unmistakably Irish in flavor, was ready for service.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 24, 1861; Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 240; *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, pp. 394, 457, 461; *St. Paul Press*, September 29, 1861; *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1: 572-584.

<sup>31</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 248; *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 26, 27, 1861; *St. Paul Press*, December 6, 24, 1861. One of the reasons advanced for the organization of an all-Irish regiment was the reasonable expectation that a chaplain of the Roman Catholic faith would be appointed. The law of Congress of July 22, 1861, provided that "there shall be allowed to each regiment one chaplain, who shall be appointed by the regimental commander on the vote of the field officers and company commanders on duty with the regiment at the time the appointment shall be made." *Statutes at Large*, 12: 270. It was always customary in Minnesota to take into consideration the wishes of the majority of the men in the appointment of this officer. John Ireland, now Archbishop Ireland, served as chaplain of the Fifth Minnesota from June, 1862, to April, 1863.

The assertion occasionally made nowadays that the United States relied mainly upon foreign born citizens and foreigners for its armies in the Civil War is entirely without foundation in fact. The Comte de Paris,

The methods used in raising troops in 1861 were not without serious defects. Among these was the inability, soon manifest, to fill depleted ranks. It was relatively easy to raise a new company. It was all but impossible to secure recruits for old ones of diminished strength. Offices, which were generally the price paid for the work of recruiting new troops, were not at the disposal of the unfortunate soldier who was detailed to raise his regiment to full strength. Moreover, the enthusiasm of enlistment *en masse* was lost, and volunteers could not even be certain as to the company to which they would be assigned. The unfortunate part of this situation lay in the fact that the assistance of experienced troops could rarely be utilized in the training of raw recruits. New regiments had to be formed, officered, and drilled, when the old regiments had more than enough officers for their own requirements and could easily have absorbed a large number of untrained men. It was a process wasteful alike of time and of men, but it was the only way to obtain troops until the application of the draft made the consultation of individual preferences less essential. Towards the end of the war, the formation of new regiments was frowned upon, and General Grant took the liberty of consolidating the fragments of decimated regiments whenever he chose.<sup>32</sup>

a competent and unprejudiced foreign observer, gives elaborate statistics to show the falsity of such a line of reasoning. "The foreign element," he declares, "was not proportionately represented in the composition of the national army. The soldiers born on American soil were more numerous than if the army had been recruited by a draft bearing equally upon all the Citizens of the Union." Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1:180.

<sup>32</sup> The unsuccessful efforts to keep the First Minnesota at full strength after the battle of Bull Run may be traced through the daily papers. *St. Paul Press*, August 14, September 7, December 1, 1861. It was probably due to the extraordinary record of the First Regiment, and it was entirely exceptional, that as many as one hundred and fifty recruits could be sent forward to it by August 30. *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, p. 467. In Illinois, only three hundred and fifty-one men were obtained for similar service during a like period. Illinois, Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1:16 (revised edition). To December, 1862, when the war was nearly half over, the total number of recruits to old regiments had reached only

Another difficulty arose from the attempts frequently made to recruit troops to be credited to one state from the residents of another. This resulted in no end of charges and counter charges, all tending to show that this state or that had been defrauded of the credit due it for raising volunteers and was being compelled to furnish more troops than its fair share. Wisconsin persistently charged Minnesota recruiting officers with entering her territory, and Minnesota as persistently retorted that Wisconsin had been "poaching" on her. One whole company of artillery from Minnesota, it was claimed, had enlisted in a Wisconsin regiment, while Houston County, one of the oldest in the state, had furnished so many troops to Wisconsin that during the whole first year of the war it was unable to raise so much as a company for Minnesota. Many of the states forbade this recruiting of troops within their borders to be credited elsewhere, but to the end of year Minnesota had taken no such action.<sup>33</sup>

The officers which the system produced were not always well fitted for their duties, potentially or otherwise, but under the circumstances a different method of selecting them would hardly have been feasible. No one thought of such a thing as a reserve officer's training camp, and there were only a few who worried because the officers were burdened with about the same amount of ignorance of military affairs as were the men given them to command. The regulations provided that the governors of the states furnishing volunteers should commission the requisite field, staff, and company officers. In the selection of the company officers, however, the governor rarely had anything to say. The man who had been chiefly interested in the raising of a company was rewarded with its command as a matter of course. Usually he was elected to that office by his men long before his commission could be granted. The

49,990. Report of the secretary of war, December, 1862, in 37 Congress, 3 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 10 (serial 1159). See also Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1: 274.

<sup>33</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 86; *St. Paul Press*, 23, 25, 1861; *La Crescent Plain Dealer* (Houston County), August 6, 1861.

first and second lieutenants were similarly chosen, although there was often some rivalry for these posts. In Minnesota, during the early months of the war, the practice was adopted of commissioning the officers thus chosen only as the company was filled. A company part full was given a second lieutenant. When more recruits were obtained, a first lieutenant was commissioned, and finally, when minimum strength had been reached, the captain was formally inducted into office. Probably it was hoped that this withholding of commissions would stimulate prospective officers to greater recruiting activity. Non-commissioned officers were appointed by the captains of each company, and were often promised far in advance. One captain in the Fourth Regiment, however, waited until his men had become acquainted, and then with true American democracy allowed them to elect the "non-coms" by ballot.<sup>34</sup>

Ordinarily, regimental officers were not appointed until each of the companies had recruited to minimum strength. The governor had considerable freedom in the selection of the colonel, lieutenant colonel, and majors for a regiment, and it was fortunate that he did. Since the captains and lesser officers frequently possessed no military experience whatever, it was necessary to have at least one man to a regiment who knew something about his business. At first every effort was made to secure officers of the regular army for the higher commands, but the decision of the war department to continue the organization of that branch of the service made this course all but impossible. Although military critics are disposed to think that it would have been wise to have broken up the regular army, distributing its experienced men among the states to assist in the training of volunteers, the release of army officers for this duty was generally preëmtorily refused. In making their appointments, governors were compelled to fall back upon veterans of the Mexican War, ex-army officers, foreign born citizens who had had military training, and even

<sup>34</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 245; *St. Paul Press*, October 24, November 6, 1861; Brown, *History of the Fourth Regiment*, 40.



militia officers. As the war progressed, minor officers who had seen service at the front could be recalled to take higher positions in new regiments.

Military experience was by no means the only factor to be considered in the making of appointments. The activity of individuals in raising men was frequently rewarded. If a captain had shown himself particularly competent in recruiting his company to full strength, he might wisely be considered in line for promotion, for upon the regimental officers devolved part of the duty of raising a regiment to the maximum after their commissions had been assigned. Political considerations, likewise, could not be ignored. The appointments must be balanced fairly evenly between Republicans and Democrats. They must give representation to every section of the state. They must not ignore popular leaders. In short, they must be made with a view to securing the widest possible support of the war.<sup>35</sup>

Because among army officers thus chosen a few must be found who could never approximate success, Congress wisely provided that a military commission, appointed by the general commanding a separate department or a detached army, might examine into the qualifications of subordinate commissioned officers, and if incompetency were proved, might vacate their commissions. This rule was not rigorously applied, but it proved of considerable service when used as a threat. A man who knew his shortcomings either took steps to remedy them or resigned. Summary removal, when actually resorted to, might or might not improve the situation. New selections could be made only by state authority, and as often as otherwise they were no better than the original.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 251; *St. Paul Press*, November 14, 1861. In the larger states, where individuals often undertook the raising of whole regiments, the governor was under the same obligation to appoint the man who raised the regiment to be its colonel as he was to commission the man who had raised a company to be its captain. Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1:186.

<sup>36</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 12:270, 318; *General Orders affecting the Vol-*



The method which obtained in making promotions was equally unsatisfactory.<sup>37</sup> The federal government should have been authorized to apply a uniform rule, but this the states were unwilling to permit. Each state made promotions as it chose. Instructions issued by the adjutant general in November, 1861, explained the principles which governed in the advancement of Minnesota officers. Promotions to field offices were made regimentally; to line offices, by companies. Each regiment and each company was for this purpose considered a separate military organization, and no promotions were made from one regiment to another, or from one company to another. This practice varied widely from the seniority rule in force in the regular army, but state officials contended, not without plausibility, that there was a vast difference between the regular and the volunteer service. In the regular service men from all sections of the country were thrown together to form a company, and, enlisting as privates, they had little hope of promotion. Volunteers, on the other hand, came by companies from the same county or town, and the officers were often no better trained than the men. Since the regular army was officered chiefly from West Point, promotions in that branch of the service strictly by seniority could work no hardship. In the volunteer forces, however, it would mean the transfer of many officers from the company or regiment which they had assisted in raising, and which had elected them to their posts. It would mean, too, that privates, in many cases as well qualified for commanding positions as the officers themselves, would have no chance for speedy

*unteer Force*, 1861, p. 16; *Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States*, 1861, p. 521; Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1: 188, 269. In authorizing the raising of new units, the war department repeatedly reserved to itself the right to revoke the commissions of all officers found incompetent, but this seems likewise to have been more in the nature of a threat than a practice. *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, pp. 587, 607.

<sup>37</sup> The original plan for the filling of vacancies allowed the men to select the new officers, but Congress was soon convinced that this was impracticable and authorized the governors to make such appointments. *Statutes at Large*, 12: 270, 318.

promotion. Moreover, to the civilian there appeared to be "little justice in the rule, that, when a company by extraordinary exposure and valor on the field of battle should lose one, two or three of its officers, would supply their places from another company less exposed."<sup>38</sup>

General officers for the volunteer army were appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. Lincoln showed a strong disposition to choose men from the regular army for these responsible positions, and Congress made full provision for this contingency. Officers temporarily taken from the regular army to serve in higher positions as commanders of volunteers were permitted to retain their original rank in the regular army.<sup>39</sup> This had some curious results. When Major General Hancock was in command of the Second Corps of the Army of the Potomac, in the regular army he was only a quartermaster with the rank of captain. At the time of the battle of Gettysburg, Meade as a regular was still a captain of engineers. Sheridan remained a captain of infantry in the regular army until close to the end of the war. By no means all of the higher officers were chosen from men of military education. Many appointments were made obviously for political or personal reasons. Some of these appointments discovered men of real military talent, but others terminated far less happily. On the whole, one may say that the effective military leadership in the Civil War was furnished by men who had had some previous training in the regular army.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 252.

<sup>39</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 12:269, 281; *Revised Army Regulations*, 1861, p. 520.

<sup>40</sup> Bad appointments to high positions were hard to remedy, and from the first considerable criticism followed the elevation of each politician to high place in the army. "The military policy which subjects volunteers, surgeons, black-smiths and even mules and cavalry horses to rigid examination, should, in our judgment, put general commanding officers through the same course of sprouts. A brigadier general, however, needs no examination. If a coward, his commission makes him brave—if a dolt, it makes him brilliant, if ignorant it makes him learned, if deficient in all

As has been aptly said, an ordinary assemblage of men resembles "a statue of clay, unable to move without breaking."<sup>41</sup> Drill is required if any such mob is to be transformed into an army. This process would have been simplified greatly had there been an adequate number of trained instructors, but such, unfortunately, was not the case. Officers and men learned together. Usually, as already intimated, there was at least one officer to each regiment who knew something of military tactics, and, regardless of his rank, he assumed the actual direction of affairs. Also, among the recruits there were numbers of men who had had some military experience. Some of them had served formerly in European armies. Others had belonged to one of the fancy militia companies so popular in the Fifties. Still others had gained knowledge, not to be despised in such an emergency, as members of the "Wide-Awakes" and "Little Giants."

Training was usually begun by a company the day it was organized. In Minnesota, newly formed companies were generally ordered to report at once at Fort Snelling, or to one of the frontier posts. Here they had to remain until maximum, or at least minimum, strength had been reached, and during this time there was nothing to do but drill. Minnesota troops were relatively well prepared when their time came to go to the front. The long distance to the scene of activities, coupled with the necessity of garrisoning the frontier forts, delayed some regiments weeks, and even months, in their departure. Thus, an opportunity for military training was given, which, if unappreciated, was none the less useful. Reports of the rigors of military drill by the men afflicted are hardly to be taken at face value. Still, the training must have been fairly strenuous. The First Regiment began on a schedule something military knowledge, he at once becomes the repository of all the learning of Scott, and all the aptness to command, which made Bonaparte famous. . . . It is the commission that works this transformation—this miracle." *Illinois State Journal*, July 3, 1861.

<sup>41</sup> Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1: 272.

like this: "Morning gun was fired at 5½ o'clock. Drill for an hour. Breakfast. Recreation for half an hour. Drill for five hours. Dinner. Recreation. Drill again until five o'clock, when the boys were again 'let out to play.' Such was the day's routine." In the evening the colonel assembled the officers for further instruction.<sup>42</sup>

The major portion of the training of the troops took place beyond the borders of the state. After the lesson of Bull Run, the necessity of further instruction was fully realized. In the East, and to a less degree in the West as well, the armies in the field became vast training camps. "In the conflicts of 1861," says Major General Wood, "both officers and men were untrained for the duties demanded of them. . . . By 1862 effective regiments, brigades, and divisions had come into being, but the conduct and leading of higher units as a rule was still imperfect. It was not until 1863 that the armies confronted each other as complete and effective military teams."<sup>43</sup>

The equipment of the national army taxed the resources of both state and nation to the limit. It was here that the lack of preparedness was most embarrassing. The scarcity of arms was startling. Volunteers came in swarms, camps could be improvised, and uniforms might be dispensed with, but no fighting could be done without weapons. The arsenals of the United States were neither numerous nor well-stocked, and many of them fell to the South.<sup>44</sup> The best infantry arm available was manufactured by the government at the Springfield arsenal, but prior to the war not more than eight hundred of these rifles had been produced in any one month; and the arms which the United States had furnished to the state militia

<sup>42</sup> *St. Paul Press*, May 2, 5, 1861.

<sup>43</sup> Major General Leonard Wood, *Facts of Interest Concerning the Military Resources and Policy of the United States*, 9 (pamphlet—Washington, 1914).

<sup>44</sup> The relative strength of the North and South in the *matériel* of war is discussed in Rhodes, *United States*, 3: 239-241, 397-410; Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1: 292-316.

all too frequently were lost or useless. In this respect, however, Minnesota seems to have been rather better off than most of the states. Arms of various sorts to the extent of over seventeen hundred stand had been received from the federal government since 1852; but many of them were out of repair, many were of obsolete design, and many others, scattered among the defunct militia companies of the state, could be collected only with difficulty. Nevertheless, the state was able to arm its first regiment in full and to have guns of an inferior quality left over for the companies forming. Afterwards the federal government made an effort to furnish the arms for each Minnesota regiment well before the time set for its departure from the state.<sup>45</sup>

The immediate need for arms led the federal government, not only to make reckless purchases at home, but also to send a special agent to Europe with two million dollars for use in buying all the weapons he could find. The war department also authorized the several states, as well as generals in

<sup>45</sup> Report of the secretary of war, December, 1861, in 37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 7 (serial 1118); Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1861, p. 8; 1862, p. 235; *St. Paul Daily Press*, May 9, December 10, 1861. Referring to the condition of the Illinois militia, Governor Yates had this to say: "Under the present system all the arms issued to this state by the general government, representing a value of over \$300,000, have been lost beyond recovery, and we have not today in the state, two hundred serviceable muskets." Illinois, *Senate Journal*, 1861, p. 26. A local paper described the state of military preparedness in Chicago as follows: "The eight military companies who claim to have existence in Chicago . . . probably could not turn out more than a hundred men fully equipped . . . and for these there are less than half that number of efficient muskets. . . . Four brass six-pounders, and a mountain howitzer completes the present war-like equipment of a city of 100,000 inhabitants." *Chicago Tribune*, January 24, 1861. The rapidity with which the Minnesota troops were supplied with arms is shown by the fact that as early as the fifth of June, 1861, 880 stand of the "terrible Minie musket, that carries a heavy ball a full mile" had been received. *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 22, 1861; *St. Paul Press*, June 6, 1861. But the Third Minnesota, on the eve of its departure for Louisville, Kentucky, was still without arms or accoutrements. *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, p. 624.

command of divisions, to purchase arms for which the central government would pay. This policy was exceedingly short-sighted, for it led to ruinous competition among the agents of the states, the United States, and others authorized to buy. Prices advanced out of all reason. Arms of every description were purchased. American agents greedily bought up the old-fashioned and worn-out weapons of European states at a figure which allowed the latter to restock with the most modern inventions. Out of this chaos the government gradually evolved order. In 1861, the volunteer, if he had a weapon, was fortunate if it proved to be as dangerous to the enemy as to himself. In 1862, the Springfield factory was delivering nearly twenty thousand stand of arms a month, and privately produced muskets, somewhat standardized by the "survival of the fittest," supplied additional needs. By 1863, purchases of arms from Europe had ceased altogether.<sup>46</sup>

It was no light task to supply with clothing this great army of mushroom growth. Fortunately, the recent invention of the sewing machine had laid the foundation for the modern ready-made clothing industry, and the factories took over much of the work which a little earlier could have been done only by hand. At the outset, individuals and localities frequently assumed the responsibility of meeting the needs of troops from their vicinity. Thus, the ladies of Winona sent

<sup>46</sup> Report of the secretary of war, December, 1861, in 37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 7 (serial 1118); Emerson D. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War*, 97 (New York, 1910); Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1:298. Numerous documents relative to the activities of the government in the purchase of arms are printed in 37 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 67 (serial, 1131). Major Peter V. Hagner, an ordnance officer purchasing arms for the federal government in New York City, testified as follows before the Committee on the Conduct of the War: "The agents of General Frémont, of the governors of States, of cities, of Union Defense Committees, of colonels of regiments, and of generals of our army, are all here. I may be in treaty for arms, and the first thing I hear the arms are sold to some agent. Some men who hold arms, I sometimes think, are rather disposed not to have a *bona fide* sale. I think they have been gambling in arms just as they do in stocks." 37 Congress, 2 session,

to every man of their company at Fort Snelling "a beautiful gray fatigue uniform," and the ladies of Stillwater presented each member of the Stillwater company with a pair of "comfortable blankets." But the chief burden fell upon the state. When the First Regiment was called out, the adjutant general, in spite of the lack of money and authority, let contracts for blankets, socks, flannel shirts, trousers, and hats to a local clothing company. These articles were delivered as soon as possible, and although inferior in quality, they were accepted because no others could be procured without great delay. Also, several companies were equipped out of regular army supplies found at Fort Ridgley.<sup>47</sup>

One result of this method of equipment was the assembling for the defence of the national capital of an army clad in the most variegated uniforms imaginable. Governor Ramsey,

*House Reports*, no. 2, p. 35 (serial 1142). In the month of June, 1861, Arthur M. Eastman of Manchester, New Hampshire, purchased of the ordnance bureau 5,400 Hall's carbines at \$3.50 each, and after a slight alteration of the arms, at a cost of from seventy-five cents to \$1.25 on each arm, sold 5,000 of them, for \$12.50 each, to Simon Stevens, who immediately sold the whole lot to General Frémont for \$22.00 each. 37 Congress, 2 session, *House Reports*, no. 2, p. 40 (serial 1142).

<sup>47</sup> *St. Paul Press*, April 30, May 2, 4, August 8, 1861. See also Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions*, 88-90. There was continual misunderstanding as to what assistance might be expected from the federal government. In a communication dated September 14, 1861, Governor Ramsey complained bitterly of "the refusal or neglect of the authorities at Washington . . . to pay for either equipping or furnishing the First or Second Regiments of Minnesota Volunteers, though such payment was directly promised by the War Department." *Rebellion Records*, serial 122, p. 513. A different reaction comes from a member of the battalion of cavalry which was enlisted in Minnesota in September, 1861: "Being mustered into service, we were furnished with Uniforms, knapsacks, canteens, haversacks and blankets, which last were of the poorest quality and smallest size. These blankets were said to have been a gift from the State of Minnesota and were doubtless the best to be had at that time in the local market and of course were thankfully received by the men, but when later on these same blankets were found charged against the individual soldiers at the full price of the best the men did not feel so grateful." Eugene Marshall's narrative of his experiences in the Civil War, in the manuscript collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.



after one of his trips east, reported the street scenes of Washington: "Now it is a regiment of Zouaves, in Algerine costume; then the dapper gray style of the New York Seventh; next, perhaps, the Knickerbockers from New York, with breeches looking for all the world like the nether integuments described by Washington Irving; or some other unique style of dress and equipment." After the battle of Bull Run there was a strong demand for a national uniform. The Red Zouave uniforms attracted too much attention from the enemy. Others were so much like uniforms worn by the Confederates that friend could hardly be distinguished from foe. Often, too, the uniforms furnished by the states were of the trashiest materials. "A gentle wind," declared "Doesticks," an Ellsworth Zouave, "would blow a man's coat into rags in half a day; while if he ventured outdoors in a stiff breeze, his red breeches would tear into long red flags."<sup>48</sup>

The difficulties which the First Minnesota experienced in securing proper equipment are a fair sample of the trials which all the early volunteers were compelled to endure. The state authorities did what they could to provide a temporary outfit, but assumed that once the troops were called into federal service the national government would do the rest. This assumption was in complete accord with the law, and with private advices received by the governor from the war department. Hence, the departure of the troops for the front in summer weather without coats and overcoats occasioned little concern.

As time went on, an increasing volume of complaint came home in the shape of letters from the soldiers, correspondence sent to the home papers, and even petitions to congressmen.

<sup>48</sup> *St. Paul Press*, August 2, September 13, 1861. Doubtless many of the uniforms were made of "shoddy," a substitute for cloth, "which consisted of rags of all colors and descriptions, cut into pulp and pressed back into cloth by a process similar to that used in making felt; such cloth had no resistance, it easily fell back again into rags and pulp, and the sunshine or rain was wont to bring out its true nature very quickly." Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions*, 85.



The men declared that they were destitute. They abused their officers for failing to secure the needed supplies. They abused the state authorities for general negligence. Some of them were ready to desert. An attempt was made to remove at least one man from the ranks by means of a writ of *habeas corpus* on the alleged ground that he had not been sworn in for three years, but only for three months. Real privations must have been felt, but the opportunity for exaggeration was too good to be ignored. The state adjutant general was convinced that nobody really suffered, and a committee of Minneapolis citizens appointed to inquire into the situation criticized the authorities only mildly, if at all. The regimental quartermaster went so far as to say that the men were sometimes guilty of maliciously damaging their clothing in order to escape drill and dress parade, and to hasten government action by their sad appearance. Colonel Gorman was not greatly disturbed. "A few men," he admitted, "wore out their pants and tore them so as to render them unfit for duty. . . . This has occurred in all regiments and in all armies." But everyone who stayed at home conceded that "in these war-like times our soldiers, with all the inconveniences incident to their situation, have a right to growl a little."<sup>49</sup>

That the men should have received new equipment long before it came was admitted on all sides. Still, no one was particularly to blame. Before the regiment left for the front, the state adjutant general had contracted with a New York firm for the delivery of coats and overcoats to the troops, presumably at state expense. Governor Ramsey arranged, however, that the United States should inspect these articles, and if they were found satisfactory, should pay for them. When the First Minnesota was ordered to the front, it was agreed that the goods should be sent to Harrisburg, Pennsyl-

<sup>49</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 83; *Minnesota Conserver* (Hastings), July 25, 1861; *Minnesota State News* (Minneapolis), July 27, August 3, 1861; *St. Paul Press*, August 6, 8, 17, 31, September 1, 11, 1861; *Lake County Weekly Journal*, August 31, 1861; *History of the First Regiment*, p. 56.

vania, where the soldiers on their way east would find them. Unfortunately, the garments failed to pass inspection, and hence were not available at Harrisburg. The contractors were then ordered to make their shipments to Washington, and did so. But the military storekeeper who received the consignment had no knowledge that it was designed for any special body of troops and issued it to the first regiment asking for supplies. Remonstrances brought a fresh set of supplies, but no instructions to the military storekeeper, who made the mistake a second time. Finally, when the goods were addressed "For the First Minnesota," the regiment obtained them. Even after this there was much discontent, for many necessities were still lacking, but before winter set in the government was able to furnish reasonably good clothing for all. Subsequent installments of Minnesota troops were usually equipped directly by the federal government without the intervention of the state.<sup>50</sup>

Dissatisfaction among the soldiers about the food they had to eat was no less inevitable than dissatisfaction about the clothes they had to wear. Most of the trouble about rations, however, came before the troops had left the state, for the United States subsistence department speedily developed a creditable efficiency. The simplest way for the state to provide for the feeding of the troops at Fort Snelling was to contract for the same with some local firm, and this was done. Whether because the contractors had difficulty in securing the necessary provisions, or because they desired to get rich quick, the rations for a few days were neither adequate nor appetizing. One company went to bed supperless rather than touch the food served it. Those who had visitors at meal time apologized, saying that the coffee would have been better "if beans hadn't been so plenty," that there would have been milk

<sup>50</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 87; *St. Paul Press*, May 30, August 8, 1861. The condition of the regiment attracted much newspaper notice, but all the important documents are to be found in the issue of the *Press* for August 8. For general conditions see Comte de Paris, *Civil War*, 1:292.

in it "but the cow didn't come home," and that the "sugar would have been whiter, if it hadn't got mixed with 'our rich black soil.'" Protests to headquarters, coupled with a near "bread-riot," brought some reforms, but no abandonment of the system. As late as March, 1862, contractors, who boarded the soldiers at so much per day, still furnished the rations at Fort Snelling, and the soldiers divided their time "about evenly . . . between drill and cursing the cooks."<sup>51</sup>

Still another cause of discontent was the failure of the men to receive their pay at the time expected. The assistant paymasters who were charged with this duty were very frequently drawn from the regular army, and were accustomed to strict attention to form. Moreover, their operations were supervised directly by a separate branch of the service—the pay department—where there was little opportunity for the cutting of red tape so common elsewhere. The Minnesota troops expected to receive their pay on the first of July, but to their chagrin they found that the paymaster passed them by. The reason, once explained, was clear enough. Certain required formalities had been omitted. Officers were required to make a complete and perfect muster roll of their companies, showing when and where each man had enlisted. From this list only could the pay roll be made out. Blanks had been sent to the officers, but not all of them had made out the muster rolls, with the result that the men were delayed about three weeks in receiving their pay. Back in Minnesota a similar situation developed. The men who had enlisted for three months but had declined to serve for three years, were told that their pay would be given them October 15. When that date came, the proper official was on hand with the money, but he could find no data available for use in carrying out his instructions. Considerable time elapsed before proper identifications of the men and proof of their enlistment could be obtained.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 1, 1861; *St. Paul Press*, May 2, August 8, 1861; Brown, *History of the Fourth Regiment*, 23.

<sup>52</sup> *St. Paul Press*, August 8, October 10, 1861.

United States soldiers, then as now, were the best paid soldiers in the world. The volunteer received thirteen dollars a month, a sum which to the European eye appeared "enormous." In addition, each man was promised a bounty of one hundred dollars, and a land warrant for one hundred and sixty acres of land, to be given him at the end of the war or at the end of his three year term of enlistment. This really generous treatment may have induced a considerable number to volunteer who might otherwise have hesitated. As the war progressed, the bounties offered by the national government were augmented greatly by state, county, and even municipal action.<sup>53</sup>

From the first days of the war, great concern was manifest for the care of the families of the enlisted men. An act of Congress of July 16 authorized "allotment tickets" by which a volunteer might sign over a certain portion of his salary to be delivered regularly to his relatives or dependents. When this scheme was presented to one Minnesota company, nearly one-third of the men made allotments of from three to ten dollars each. Local activities went much further. A mass meeting held in St. Anthony on the twenty-second of April appointed a committee to see that the families of volunteers

<sup>53</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 10: 701; 12: 270, 326, 509; *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 18, 1861; *St. Paul Press*, August 13, 1861; *Northfield Telegraph*, October 2, 1861. Newspaper reports on the subject of bounties were apt to be very misleading. Unconfirmed rumors of what Congress intended to do were sometimes given the appearance of enacted laws. This may have been due to a desire to stimulate enlistments by making the terms appear as advantageous as possible. Local means of encouraging volunteering seem to have been resorted to from the very beginning. An Illinois law of 1861 authorized the corporate authorities of cities, towns, and counties to levy a five mill tax, and to appropriate such sums as were deemed expedient, "for the purpose of aiding in the formation and equipment of volunteer companies." Illinois, *Session Laws*, special session, 1861, 24. When finally the draft was invoked, localities bent every effort towards preventing its application to them. Volunteers sometimes received so much as a thousand dollars for enlisting, and a class of "bounty-jumpers" was developed, who enlisted for the money there was in it, and then deserted only to enlist again. See Carl R. Fish, "Conscription in the Civil War," in the *American Historical Review*, 21: 100-103 (October, 1915).

were provided "with a decent and comfortable support in sickness and in health." Five Minneapolis physicians offered free medical attendance to the families of enlisted men. The city council of St. Paul proposed to guarantee to the dependents of those who went to war a reasonable allowance of support out of the city treasury, and the board of county commissioners appropriated outright one thousand dollars for this purpose. Subsequently there was considerable objection to the supporting of families of soldiers "in idleness and luxury." "One bill," a local paper complained, "was sent in for house rent at the rate of ten dollars per month. We hear another instance where the wife of a volunteer presented at a store an order from the chairman of the Relief Committee, and demanded the finest and most costly articles of shoes for herself and children that could be found in the establishment." But the general feeling, here as elsewhere, was that the state or municipality was under obligations to see that the dependents of soldiers should not suffer.<sup>54</sup>

In many other ways the desire of those who stayed at home to "do their bit" soon made itself manifest. In every town the women organized themselves spontaneously into volunteer aid societies. They gave benefit concerts without number and used the proceeds to purchase towels, handkerchiefs, extra underwear, and the like, for the soldiers. They met afternoons

<sup>54</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 12:271, 331; *Executive Documents*, 1862, p. 29; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1861, p. 27; *St. Paul Press*, April 25, August 8, October 3, 31, 1861; *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 28, 30, 1861. The adjutant general of Minnesota suggested that since many soldiers had left their property interests in an unsettled and insecure condition, it would be well for the legislature to provide by law for staying all proceedings against such persons or their property during the time of enlistment. This was done elsewhere, but not at once in Minnesota. Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 90. See also interesting lists of subscriptions made in Wisconsin for the care of families of volunteers, given in William D. Love, *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion*, 128-136 (Chicago, 1866). An informing monograph on this subject is "Social Relief in the Northwest during the Civil War," by Carl R. Fish, in the *American Historical Review*, 22: 309-324 (January, 1917).

to prepare sundry-bags containing scissors, needles, thread, and buttons, with which the soldier might keep his garments in a good state of repair. They made with their own hands the flags which were to be carried in battle and presented them formally on days characterized by much oratory and parade and, not infrequently, by banqueting as well. They got the idea that "Havelocks," an indescribable attachment to the ordinary headgear, were an "absolutely necessary head covering for a soldier in a warm climate," and made hundreds of them on the eve of the departure of the First Regiment for the front. "Every gallant soldier of Minnesota," ran one report, "when marching under the scorching sun of Virginia, will bless the ladies of the Society for their timely and self-sacrificing care." The soldiers were decent enough later to write back that the "Havelocks" were "very good things to protect us from the sun," but the sad fact of the matter was that they became considerable of a laughing stock. As winter approached knitting became popular. Mittens were greatly in demand, and long directions appeared in the papers explaining how the work should be done. Mittens with one finger and a thumb were in highest favor.<sup>55</sup>

No sooner had the Ladies' Volunteer Aid Society of St. Paul disbanded, having completed its duties by the making of a thousand "Havelocks," more or less, than it discovered a new field of activities and came to life again. The chaplain of the First Minnesota wrote home that the men were suffering from the want of hospital supplies. Immediately a committee set forth to solicit contributions towards a "hospital fund," and the result of the first day's labor netted some seventy dollars. Public contributions taken up in the churches throughout the state added further to the fund. In St. Paul a festival was planned. De Haven's Circus gave the receipts from one

<sup>55</sup> *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 11, June 16, 1861; *St. Paul Press*, April 14, 25, June 23, November 19, December 24, 1861; *Minnesota Conserver*, (Hastings), August 1, 1861; *Minnesota State News* (Minneapolis), November 16, 1861.

night's performance, and a travelling opera company did the same. Within a few weeks a sum of money had been collected "amply sufficient to meet the wants of the Regiment for a year to come." "Don't kill us with kindness," wrote the chaplain into whose care the fund had been committed. "Tell liberal men and noble women, to send no more money nor clothing." It was characteristic of the unsystematic way in which things were done that the Second Minnesota, then assembling at Fort Snelling, had reason to believe at this very time that its wants were being neglected. Presently, however, the organization of the United States Sanitary Commission gave much needed direction to willing workers and served to eradicate many such difficulties.<sup>56</sup>

Other manifestations of private initiative are not hard to find. The American Bible Society and the Young Men's Christian Association, assisted by private donations, undertook to supply each volunteer with a New Testament. H. H. Sibley sent a check for a hundred dollars to the First Minnesota to be used as the soldiers saw fit, and this started the organization of a regimental band.<sup>57</sup> But for the willing coöperation of individuals, the financing of the war would have proved an insurmountable obstacle, alike in state and nation. Governors borrowed huge sums on their own credit with the expectation that their legislatures would indemnify them, and loans were readily secured on these terms. The adjutant general of Minnesota, whose salary from the state

<sup>56</sup> *Minnesota State News*, July 27, 1861; *St. Paul Press*, July 16, 25, 28, 31, August 13, 15, September 1, November 28, December 14, 18, 1861; *Northfield Telegraph*, July 31, December 4, 1861. The work of the Sanitary Commission was early recognized by the government as appears in the report of the secretary of war, July, 1861, 37 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 26 (serial 1112). A satisfactory summary of the organization and work of the Sanitary Commission is given by Rhodes, *United States*, 5:244-259. Contemporary literature on this subject is abundant.

<sup>57</sup> *St. Paul Press*, May 1, 2, 3, November 15, 17, 1861. In the early part of the war the band of each regiment was also expected to man ambulances, and pick up the wounded.



was one hundred dollars a year, reported that during the year 1861 between two and three thousand dollars had been paid out by him out of his own pocket for war purposes, or was owing to individuals from whom he had purchased.<sup>58</sup> The governor of Minnesota, to avoid an extra session of the legislature, asked the state treasurer to make further necessary payments from his private funds, which he "generously and patriotically consented to do" to the extent of another three thousand dollars.<sup>59</sup> The contributions of private citizens and corporations throughout the country during the first three weeks of the war were estimated by the *New York Herald* to have reached a grand total of \$28,739,000.<sup>60</sup>

It is this exploitation of individual initiative which is the distinguishing feature of the method by which the army of 1861 was raised. The correctness of the volunteer system, which burdened every patriotic citizen with a sense of individual responsibility when victories were not won, was rarely questioned. Even when the draft was invoked in the later years of the war, it was only as a stimulus to enlistments, and the number of conscripts was ridiculously low. Individuals, not officially inspired, assumed the duty of gathering recruits, and of organizing them into minor divisions. Individuals, without the encouragement of a Liberty Loan campaign, dug down into their pockets for the money to provide temporary equipment. Individuals, who never dreamt of the systematic methods of the American Red Cross, contributed funds, gave bazaars, sewed, knit, and even cooked for their own boys and brothers at the front. The state did nothing which the individual could do; the nation did nothing which the state or the individual could do.

<sup>58</sup> Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, pp. 88, 229.

<sup>59</sup> Governor's message to the legislature of January, 1862, in Minnesota, *Executive Documents 1861*, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in the *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 7, 1861. The secretary of war, however, claimed in July, 1861, that the amount contributed did not exceed ten million dollars. 37 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 23 (serial 1112).



How different it all is to-day. The system which a little more than fifty years ago saved the Union, and vindicated democracy as a safe government for America, if not for the world, is now obsolete. In this war it is the nation which takes the lead, while the individual does what he is told to do. The state authorities, bereft of initiative, have become merely convenient tools in the process of "decentralization." The best of patriots can conscientiously await the result of a federal lottery and an elaborate questionnaire which shall determine whether they go to war or not. Even the making of bandages and the knitting of socks is supervised by some remote authority higher up.

Why all this change? Why has the United States so willingly abandoned long cherished traditions? There is a saying, as true as most generalizations, that "history never repeats itself," and another, that "we learn from history that we cannot learn from history." The conditions under which the Civil War was fought resemble only remotely the present situation. The analogies so commonly drawn are almost invariably misleading. It was possible in 1861 to put green troops in the field with officers no better than the men, for the enemy was doing the same thing. Imagine such an army as McDowell had at Bull Run, or as Grant had at Donelson, in contact with a German division! It was necessary in 1861 to divide the labor of organization among the several states, for a national government so weak that it was compelled to go to war to justify its very existence could hardly be expected to have adequate machinery with which to work. Since the Civil War the same trend towards centralization which has characterized business has also characterized government. To-day it is the national government which has the machinery, and the states that lack it. The points of contrast might be amplified at will. Just as the modern curtain of fire which precedes an advance along the western front differs from the bombardment of the Union lines at Gettysburg before Pickett's charge, by just so much do the conditions under which we

are fighting to-day differ from those of 1861. A new system of raising and maintaining an army had to be invented to meet the new situation. The new machine is full of flaws, and does not yet work smoothly, but the country as a whole approves the invention. The flaws will be corrected. The system adopted can be worked—is already working—and the world will be made safe for democracy. But the methods of 1861 were of little use as a guide for action in 1917. Those "lessons of history" which produced on some minds the vision of "a million men in arms over-night" had to be ignored. Present conditions, not long past experiences, determined how the army of 1917 was to be raised.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians, an Indian Interpretation.*

(The University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 9). By GILBERT LIVINGSTONE WILSON, Ph. D. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1917. x, 129 p. Plates, text-figures.)

*Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri.* By GEORGE F. WILL and GEORGE E. HYDE. (St. Louis, William Harvey Miner Company, 1917. 323 p. Plates.)

The writer of the first of these volumes began his observations and studies among the Hidatsa Indians in 1906, when he was a Presbyterian minister in North Dakota. During a later pastorate in Minneapolis, he was a student of anthropology in the graduate school of the University of Minnesota, and in this connection, during the years 1912 to 1915, this work was prepared as his doctor's dissertation. It is a translation of the accounts given to the author by Maxi'diwiac (Buffalobird-woman), daughter of Small Ankle, who was leader of the Hidatsa at the time of their removal to what is now Fort Berthold Reservation, on the Missouri River about 75 to 125 miles northwest from Bismarck. Maxi'diwiac's narrations were interpreted by her son, Edward Goodbird, pastor of the Congregational chapel at Independence, in this reservation, whose life story was published by Dr. Wilson in 1914.

For his part in this interesting monograph on Hidatsa agriculture, which is in some degree representative of farming and gardening by many tribes in the northern part of the United States before the coming of the white men, Dr. Wilson claims no credit beyond that for the details of arrangement and of idiomatic expression in the interpreter's translation. "Bits of Indian philosophy and shrewd or humorous observations found in the narrative are not the writer's, but the informant's, and are as they fell from her lips. . . . It is an Indian woman's.

interpretation of economics; the thoughts she gave her fields; the philosophy of her labors. May the Indian woman's story of her toil be a plea for our better appreciation of her race."

This narrative has successive chapters on the Hidatsa crops of sunflowers, corn, squashes, and beans, telling how the woman prepared the gardens and fields, and how they planted, cultivated, harvested, and cooked each of these crops, or stored them for winter use and for seed. Tobacco was also cultivated, but only by the old men. The Hidatsa raised nine well-marked varieties of corn, which they kept distinct by planting them in separate fields. The soft white and hard yellow varieties were most extensively raised, as they could be prepared for food in many different ways.

In the second book here reviewed, the authors state that it has been found that fifty varieties of this most useful product in Indian agriculture were formerly raised by tribes in the Missouri Valley. They note the purpose of their researches as follows: "To describe these newly discovered varieties of native corn; and to give some account of the agricultural methods of the Upper Missouri Indians, of their manner of harvesting and storing the crop, of the ways in which they prepared corn for food, of their traditions relating to the origin of corn, and of their corn rites. . . . The work of collecting seed of the old Indian varieties of corn has been very successful; nearly all of the sorts formerly grown by the tribes along the Missouri, from the Platte northward, have been recovered, experimental plantings have been made, and the seed has been rather widely distributed among corn breeders. . . . The work of breeding and crossing these native corns will now be taken up again; and it is to be hoped that hardier and heavier yielding varieties for the Northwest may be produced in abundance."

It is estimated that the Missouri tribes most expert in hunting, as the Kansa, or Kaws, and the Osage, cultivated an average of a third of an acre, planted chiefly in corn, for each person, while other tribes, who depended less on the hunt, averaged about an acre for each man, woman, and child.

Will and Hyde think that the Minnesota Ojibway may have received their corn from the Mandan, a tribe closely related to

the Hidatsa. Schoolcraft says, in the narrative of his expedition to Cass Lake in 1820, that the Indians were cultivating corn in the region of Red Lake, and to a lesser extent on the Upper Mississippi.

As the first among the Sioux to raise much corn, these authors note the Isanti, or Santee people, who, previous to 1750, lived about Mille Lacs, but were driven south to the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers by the Ojibway. Cass and Schoolcraft saw cultivated fields of corn adjoining Little Crow's village, near the site of St. Paul, and on the second day of August, 1820, they attended a ceremonial feast of these Sioux held at that place. This festival was one that was held when the ears were ripe for boiling, and the Indian women presented many basketfuls of the corn to the travelers, who accepted as much as they could store in their canoes.

WARREN UPHAM

*Elling Eielsen og den Evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika.* By E. O. MÖRSTAD. (Minneapolis, Folkebladets Trukkeri, 1917. 474 p. Illustrated.)

The student of Lutheranism who seeks information concerning the division into sects which resulted in the Hauge Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran Church will find much of interest in this work, which purposes to show Eielsen's sincerity as a Christian and as a pastor and to prove the lack of foundation for criticism passed upon his ordination as a pastor as well as upon his later religious activities. The book opens with an account of religious conditions in Norway and of Eielsen's early work in the Scandinavian countries. Then follows a narrative of his departure for America on July 15, 1839, and his trip across the country through Albany and Buffalo to Chicago, where he preached his first sermon.

A short review of religious conditions in the Fox River settlement, Illinois, and in early Scandinavian settlements in Wisconsin is given as a preface to a discussion of Eielsen's ordination, for it was to minister to this region that he was made, according to Mörstad, the first Norwegian Lutheran minister in America. This is followed by an account of the first meeting of Lutherans

held at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, in 1846, and the adoption of a church constitution. From this place on throughout the volume, differences of opinion and sectarian strife constitute an outstanding theme. These difficulties ultimately resulted in a separation of the religious communities into those who aligned themselves to form the Hauge Synod in 1876, and those who stood firmly by Eielsen and the first constitution, thereby constituting the Evangelical Lutherans.

For the student of history other than religious, Mörstad's *Elling Eielsen* offers little that is of interest, and this scanty material is difficult to find since it is scattered throughout the book, which, unfortunately lacks an index. Short biographical sketches are given of laymen and churchmen who worked both with and against Eielsen in the religious field. Minnesota is seldom referred to. A letter dated North Cape (Wisconsin) January 29, 1863, written by Mrs. Eielsen to her husband who was then in Norway, includes a few details concerning the Indian outbreak in Minnesota. An account of a church meeting which was held in Fillmore County, June 5-13, 1875, deals only with doctrinal controversies. Again, when writing of a visit paid by Eielsen, in 1875, to Pastor Thompson, who had charge of a congregation of ninety families in Lac Qui Parle, the author devotes his attention exclusively to matters religious.

Mörstad makes frequent use of private and church letters and of periodicals, particularly the *Chicago Lutheranen*. For pioneer history he depends largely upon Langeland's *Nordmaendene i Amerika*. The plan of the book lacks concentration and direct progress of the central purpose. A strong religious and sectarian flavor pervades the whole. One concludes a reading of the book, however, with a belief in the unwavering, stern sincerity of the pioneer pastor, Elling Eielsen, whose activities in America extended even to Texas, but whose main work was done in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota, centering in Chicago where he both began and concluded his religious teachings.

SOLVEIG MAGELSSSEN

*The Lure of the Mississippi.* By DIETRICH LANGE. (Boston, Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard, 1917. [2], 268 p. Illustrated.)

The place long occupied by the novel in the field of historical writing has in recent years broadened out to include juvenile story books in which the plot centers about some actual events. Among the writers contributing to this development is Dietrich Lange, who finds in the history of the Mississippi Valley a storehouse from which he has drawn materials for a series of boys' stories of adventure. In his latest book, *The Lure of the Mississippi*, he uses the circumstances of the Indian uprising of 1862 and Civil War conditions on the lower Mississippi to furnish the background for a narrative of two southern boys, who narrowly escape from the Sioux Indians only to undertake a long and adventuresome trip to their home in the besieged city of Vicksburg. The author reconstructs for his young readers the life of frontier days and, also, weaves into his narrative bits of wood lore that add to the interest as well as to the value of the book.

J. S.

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The annual meeting of the society on the evening of January 14, 1918, was the first meeting to be held in the new building. At the business session, which convened in the manuscript room, the following life members of the society were unanimously elected to serve on the executive council for the triennium, 1918-21: Everett H. Bailey, Charles Bechhoefer, Solon J. Buck, Rev. William Busch, Frederick M. Catlin, Lorin Cray, Oliver Crosby, William W. Cutler, Frederic A. Fogg, William W. Folwell, Guy Stanton Ford, Darwin S. Hall, Harold Harris, Frederick G. Ingersoll, Gideon S. Ives, Victor E. Lawson, William E. Lee, William H. Lightner, William A. McGonagle, William B. Mitchell, Charles P. Noyes, Victor Robertson, J. F. Rosenwald, Edward P. Sanborn, Rev. Marion D. Shutter, Charles Stees, Warren Upham, Olin D. Wheeler, William G. White, Harry E. Whitney, and Edward B. Young. Following the business session the society adjourned to the south gallery for the annual address, which was delivered by Dr. Lester Burrell Shippee of the University of Minnesota, on the subject: "Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with Special Reference to Minnesota." This part of the meeting was open to the public and the audience numbered about two hundred.

In connection with its account of the annual meeting of the society the *St. Paul Daily News* published in its issue of January 13, a picture and brief description of the building, together with some account of the moving. Somewhat the same ground is covered in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* of January 20. This is accompanied by an exterior and three interior views of the building.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending January 31, 1918: Mrs. Fred A. Bill, C. Edward Graves, Dietrich Lange, Albert R. Moore, and Harold S. Quigley of St. Paul; Miss Medora Jordan and Lester B.



Shippee of Minneapolis; Lieutenant Sydney A. Patchin, stationed at Houston, Texas; Charles H. Budd and Mrs. James H. Gordon of Montevideo; Denver C. Leach of Willmar; and Thomas Bardon of Ashland, Wisconsin. Deaths among the members during the same period were as follows: Hon. Charles E. Otis of St. Paul, November 8; Kenneth Clark of St. Paul, November 11; Hon. Charles Keith of Princeton, November 30; George F. Piper of Minneapolis, December 1; Joseph S. Sewall of St. Paul, December 22; Rev. William McKinley of Winona, January 12; Rev. Arthur E. Jones of Montreal, Canada, January 19; Bishop James McGolrick of Duluth, January 23; and Andrew C. Dunn of Winnebago, January 28.

#### OCCUPATION OF THE NEW BUILDING

The Minnesota Historical Society is experiencing at the present time one of the most important transitions in its annals. Nearly seventy years after its organization by a group of far-seeing men in the first year of the existence of the territory of Minnesota, it is now for the first time installed in quarters adequate to house its collections and activities, specifically designed to meet its requirements, and worthy of its high purposes.

The work of moving the library and other property of the society into the new building began on December 11, 1917. The newspaper volumes and stock of publications, so long stored in the Old Capitol where they were in constant danger of destruction by fire, were taken first. Then followed the moving of the greater part of the newspaper collection in the New Capitol, after which it was necessary to wait until January 3 for the completion of the elevator in the main book stack before the transfer of the general library could be begun. By the end of the month, however, practically all the possessions of the society were in the new building. Before a single book was moved a comprehensive scheme of arrangement was worked out making it possible for most of the books to be put in their proper places on the shelves as they were brought over. In order that service to the public might be interrupted as little as possible, the classes of books most in use were left to the last. On January 10, however, it became necessary to close the reading room in the Capitol,

but the reading room in the new building was opened to the public less than a week later.

Because of delays at factories and in transportation, only a part of the furniture for the building has been received as yet, and it has been necessary to employ a variety of makeshifts. All the departments are in operation, however, with the exception of the museum, which cannot be permanently installed until new equipment is received. As this equipment will not be ready for several months, plans are now being worked out for the temporary display of some of the more interesting museum material.

#### DEDICATION OF THE BUILDING

At the November meeting of the council, Messrs. Charles P. Noyes, Solon J. Buck, Everett H. Bailey, Frederic A. Fogg, and Frederick G. Ingersoll, who as members of the executive committee for the triennium 1915-18, had charge of the society's interests in connection with the construction of the building, were appointed a special committee on dedication. Since the Mississippi Valley Historical Association is to hold its annual meeting in St. Paul on May 9, 10, and 11, the committee decided to arrange for the dedication exercises to be held in connection with that meeting, when a considerable number of distinguished men in the field of history from outside the state will be able to participate. The program for the exercises has not been completed as yet, but it is expected that there will be an afternoon and an evening meeting, at one of which the dedicatory address will be delivered by Frederick Jackson Turner, professor of history in Harvard University. The committee feels that it is most fortunate in securing for this occasion not only one of the foremost historians of the country, but one whose researches and inspiration have contributed especially to an adequate understanding of the significance of the West in American history.

The program for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting, which is being worked out by a committee of which Professor Chauncey S. Boucher of St. Louis is chairman, bids fair to be of unusual interest. This association held its first annual meeting in Minnesota, at Lake Minnetonka, in 1908, and it is eminently fitting that it should return a decade later and

join in dedicating a new building to the cause of history. Programs of both the association meeting and the dedication exercises will be mailed to all members of the Minnesota Historical Society, when they are completed, and it is hoped that every member who can possibly do so will arrange to attend.

#### GIFTS

Mr. Charles T. Andrews of South Bend, Indiana, has presented to the society a copy of the *Genealogical Biography of Charles T. and Mary E. Clark Andrews*, compiled by him, on the inside back cover of which he has pasted a photograph of Owatonna in 1864, showing the main street and the then Fenno residence, now the site of the Burt house, in which he was married and lived during the winter of 1864-65. The photograph also shows in the foreground a caravan of ox-drawn prairie-schooners proceeding down the street.

A collection of ambrotypes of the members of the first legislature of the state of Minnesota, 1858, is a recent gift to the society from two of its life members, Mr. John A. Stees of St. Paul, and his son, Mr. Charles Stees. The pictures were exhibited for the first time at the annual meeting of the society, January 14, 1918, when Mr. Charles Stees made a brief presentation speech.

Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul, who has recently gone into military service, has presented a small but interesting collection of Indian artifacts of stone and copper; also an old flint-lock found near Rock Lake in Crow Wing County, and a curious powderhorn, the history of which is unknown. Mr. John Seibert of Hillman is jointly responsible with Dr. Ferguson for part of these gifts.

An old record book of the German Farmers' Fire Insurance Company of Washington County has been presented by Mr. Henry Vollner of Stillwater. In addition to the treasurer's accounts from the time of the organization of the company, March, 1867, until 1888, the book contains the minutes of two preliminary meetings which were held to provide for and adopt a constitution, the constitution itself, and a list of the members.

Mrs. James J. Hill has presented to the society two museum articles of unusual interest. One is an initial shot from the flag of the First Minnesota Regiment at the battle of Gettysburg, which is accompanied by a copy of the note written to Mr. Hill by Mrs. W. W. Dike at the time she gave him this bit of the old flag, January 6, 1898. The other is a tamarack cane given to Mr. Hill by Simeon P. Folsom of St. Paul. In a letter to Mr. Hill, Mr. Folsom states that when he came to St. Paul in July, 1847, a house, built of tamarack logs, stood at the corner of what is now Jackson and Third Streets. He purchased the building and in it opened the first hotel in St. Paul. In December of the same year he sold the place to Jacob W. Bass, who ran it as the "St. Paul House." The old house was torn down in 1871, after it had served as a part of the Merchants Hotel for a number of years.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

At the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Philadelphia during the holidays, subjects of war interest held first place. The collection and preservation of archival and other material for the history of America's participation in the war was discussed both in the conference of archivists and in that of historical societies. Attention was called also to the fact that the pressure for office space in Washington is resulting in the removal and destruction of archival material, some of which is of great historical value, and resolutions were adopted urging the temporary housing of this material in Washington or nearby, in order that it might ultimately be restored to the permanent archives. The situation which has developed serves to emphasize the short-sightedness of the federal government in not having provided long ago for an adequate archives building. Historical societies throughout the country were urged to cooperate in an effort to prevent the further destruction of historical papers. The association selected Minneapolis as the place for the annual meeting in 1918, but the council was authorized to change the meeting place or call off the meeting entirely if the transportation situation or other conditions resulting from the war should make such action advisable.

The opening article in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December is a suggestive essay on "The Frontier a World Problem," by Carl Russell Fish. Part of this issue is devoted to a translation, with foreword, by Rasmus B. Anderson, of Ole Nattestad's "Description of a Journey to North America." This, with Rynning's "Account of America" in the *BULLETIN* for November, makes available in English two of the rarest and most important sources for the history of the beginnings of Norwegian settlement in the Northwest.

Two new entrants in the field of local history publications are the *Proceedings* of the Historical Society of East and West

Baton Rouge, Louisiana, volume 1 of which, for 1916-17, has been issued as a *Bulletin* of Louisiana State University; and the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, a quarterly published by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, the first number of which is dated January, 1918. It is estimated that more state and local historical publications of a serial character have been started during the last two years than in any preceding ten years.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has published a biography of *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood*, by Dan E. Clark (1917. 464 p.). The fact that Kirkwood was governor of Iowa during the Civil War, makes it especially appropriate that this volume should appear at the present time when the nation and the states are once more exerting all their energies in preparation for a great military struggle.

Number 7 of *Iowa and War* (January, 1918) is entitled *Old Fort Madison—Early Wars on the Eastern Border of the Iowa Country*, by Jacob Van der Zee (40 p.). It consists of a sketch of early Indian difficulties, the Revolution, and the War of 1812 in the upper Mississippi Valley.

The Washington State Council of Defense has appointed war history committees in each of the counties of the state. These committees are said to be "busily at work gathering newspaper clippings, photographs, manuscript and all other records which will be helpful to a thorough study and understanding of the great events when the war is ended. These records are to be deposited in the most central and most adequate public library in each county. . . . Each committee is also working on the basis of patriotic service by providing funds to meet expenses as they arise in the work." A list of the committees is published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for January.

*Prize Essays Written by Pupils of Michigan Schools in the Local History Contest for 1916-17* (1917. 26 p.) is the title of number 9 of the *Bulletins* of the Michigan Historical Commission. This contest, arranged by the Michigan Daughters of the American Revolution and the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs, appears to be a very effective device for arousing interest

in local history. The subject assigned was "The First School and the Children who Attended It," in the writer's home city or village.

*The American Indian; An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World* (New York, 1917. 435 p.) is the title of what appears to be a scholarly summary of the extant knowledge in this field, by Clark Wissler, curator of anthropology in the American Museum of National History, New York. The book contains a valuable bibliography and over a hundred illustrations.

Under the heading, "Men Who Are Winning in the War," *Leslie's Weekly*, for January 12 prints a sketch of Julius H. Barnes of Duluth, now serving as president of the United States Food Administration Grain Corporation. The article is by Samuel Crowther.

In a pamphlet entitled *Erindringer* (1917. 39 p.) John T. Nystuen tells the story of his eventful life from the time he left Norway, in May, 1854, to the present. He includes a description of his voyage from Bergen to Quebec and of his subsequent journey to the Middle West, where, as a pioneer in Wisconsin and Iowa, and later in Minnesota, he experienced the usual hardships incident to the development of a frontier region.

In a work entitled *Danske i Kamp i og for Amerika fra ca. 1640 til 1865* (Omaha, 1917. 397 p.), P. S. Vig discusses the participation of Danes in military events connected with American history. Some of the chapters are concerned with Danish activities in wars "For America in Europe," and "For America" in the colonial period, while others are devoted to the "Danes in the American Revolution," "Danes in the Mexican War, 1846-47," and, lastly, to those who fought in "The Civil War." The book contains a considerable amount of biographical material.

The 1917 number of the *Mistaltenen* contains sketches of some Minnesota Danes in its department headed "Danisk Foretag-somhed" (Danes of Note). This publication is issued annually in the interests of Danish-Americans.

Under the title "Valdriser i Triumph, Minn." the October, 1917, number of the *Samband* publishes Christian Satter's story of his

life from the time he came to Green County, Wisconsin, until he had acquired a large farm in Triumph. Mr. Satter's experiences were typical of those of early settlers with small funds.

The Department of Minnesota, Grand Army of the Republic, has published a pamphlet entitled *The Report of the Committee on the Soldiers' Home* (8 p.), which contains a sketch of the history of this institution from its inception in 1886.

The November 12 issue of the *Freeborn County Standard*, contains several articles of historical interest. An account of "How Albert Lea Got Its Name" is accompanied by a picture of Colonel Albert Miller Lea, whose name was given to the lake from which the city took its name. A sketch of the *Standard* traces the development of that paper from its establishment in 1857 to the present. This is illustrated by pictures of the early editors. An interesting description of Freeborn County in 1857 is reprinted from a contemporary issue of the *Minnesota Star*, which published the article "for the information of those seeking homes in the West, particularly in Freeborn county."

The discovery of a collection of printing samples containing letterheads, billheads, and business cards of former Winona business and professional men prompted William J. Whipple to write a reminiscence article which appears in the December 1 issue of the *Winona Republican-Herald*. Mr. Whipple writes interestingly of men and firms that were prominent in the commercial life of the city a generation ago and concludes with a sketch of the eventful, but unsuccessful, career of the Winona and Southwestern Railroad Company.

In the December 26 issue of the *Mankato Daily Review* Colonel George W. Mead and Benjamin D. Pay tell their recollections of the hanging of the thirty-eight Sioux Indians at Mankato fifty-five years ago. Both men were present at the time; Colonel Mead as a member of the Ninth Minnesota, and Mr. Pay as sheriff. A contemporary picture of the scene accompanies the accounts.

"Local History, Old Crow Wing" is the heading of an article printed in the *Brainerd Dispatch* of December 28, in which the compiler Leon E. Lunn, includes extensive quotations from



William E. Seelye's account of his experiences as a member of the Eighth Minnesota during the Sioux Outbreak. Most of the incidents related center about the early settlement of Crow Wing.

Under the title "Minnesota in the Making" the *Mille Lacs County Times* (Milaca) is printing a series of original narratives of early explorations in Minnesota. Extracts from the accounts of Hennepin, Du Luth, and Radisson have appeared recently.

In commenting upon Sydney A. Patchin's article on "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," in the August number of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, Franklin Curtiss-Wedge reviews the early history of banking in Winona. The *Winona Republican-Herald* of November 24 prints his résumé under the title, "History of Early Bankers Recalls 'Boom' Days When Winona Became Real City."

The November 6 issue of the *Rochester Daily Post and Record* contains a letter from Charles C. Willson, in which he traces the names "College Hill" and "College Street" in the collegeless town of Rochester back to 1856 when plans were made to establish a school, to be known as Huidacooper Institute, in that city.

The *Paynesville Press* of December 6 contains a letter from George R. Stephens, of Oklahoma City, which recounts incidents connected with the establishing of the *Press* thirty years ago.

A biography of James H. Vannet, which is appearing serially in the *Thirteen Towns* (Fosston), describes in some detail the experiences of a Pine County pioneer in the territorial days. Mr. Vannet came to Minnesota in 1841, and the account of his life contains information concerning the relations of the early traders with the Indians and the beginnings of the lumbering industry. The author is W. L. Hilliard.

The *Minneapolis Journal* of January 13 tells of the attempts of early settlers in Minneapolis to stake claims on that part of the Fort Snelling military reserve which is now the business district of the city. A picture of Harwood's old, stone livery stable, which was built on the site of one of these early claims, and one of Second Avenue South in 1857 accompany the article.

Some account of life in pioneer days may be found in a sketch of David Shaver which appears in the *Winona Independent* of November 4. Mr. Shaver came to Dodge County in 1858, and was one of the early settlers in that region.

The *Winona Republican-Herald* of November 1 contains a list of the old settlers in that city and its vicinity who have died in the past twelve years. The compiler is Oliver K. Jones.

An article on "Minnesota Pioneers" appears in the November 30 issue of the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* (Mapleton). The latter part of the article consists largely of the reminiscences of the author, Mrs. O. W. Healy, who recalls incidents of pioneer days in Mapleton.

A suggestive piece of work in the field of local history is a sketch of Twin Valley, which appears in the *Twin Valley Times* of November 28. It was written by Florence Vehle, a pupil in the eighth grade of the Twin Valley schools.

In an article entitled "Chisago County and the War" the *Chisago County Press* (Lindstrom) of December 20 calls attention to the part played by the Scandinavians of Minnesota during the Civil War. In this connection the *Press* reprints from a contemporary issue of the *Hemlandet* an appeal issued by Colonel Hans Mattson "To the Scandinavians of Minnesota," in 1861.

In the August number of the *BULLETIN* (page 209) attention was called to the story of the "White Squaw of Fox Lake Isle" published in a local newspaper and purporting to be based on an old manuscript. It has since developed that this story was a "brain fancy" as the writer has expressed it, and that the old manuscript never existed.

A number of former residents of Waseca living in Minneapolis met together on the evening of December 15 for a general reunion of the "Old Home Folks." It is planned to make this gathering an annual event.

The Carlton County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Barnum, December 12. An address on the war by Congressman C. B. Miller was the principal speech of the occasion.

Some economic aspects of the "Settlement of Itasca" County are discussed in the December 12 issue of the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review*.

In the issue of October 10 the *Minneapolis Svenska Folkets Tidning* prints an historical sketch of the John W. Thomas Company, one of the older mercantile houses in Minneapolis.

The *New Prague Times* of December 13 introduces a survey of local organizations and commercial interests with a résumé of the history of New Prague.

An interesting sidelight on economic conditions in Minnesota during the Civil War is found in the *St. Peter Free Press* of December 8. This is a list of staples with their wholesale prices in 1865 and their retail prices at the present time. Material for the list was obtained from the books of Auerbach, Finch and Scheffer, St. Paul, for September, 1865.

Under the title "Roses for the Living" the *Le Sueur News* is publishing biographical sketches of men who are leaders in Le Sueur County activities.

A column of "Library Notes" contributed to the *Swift County Review* (Benson) by Ernest R. Aldrich frequently contains material relating to the state's history. The early career of the Universalist Society in Minnesota is discussed in the issue of October 30 in connection with a notice of Rev. Marion D. Shutter's biography of Rev. James Harvey Tuttle. A sketch of General William G. Le Duc and a collection of historical incidents relating to Benson and its vicinity appear on November 20 and 27, respectively.

Students of religious and social history will be interested in the newspaper accounts of special services held by various churches throughout the state, as these articles often include historical sketches of the congregations. A history of the Redwood Falls Methodist Episcopal Church by A. E. King appears in the *Redwood Falls Sun* of November 2 in connection with a description of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the church. A list of the pastors of the church accompanies the article, and some reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Ferris

in the November 9 issue of the *Sun* supplement Mr. King's account. The *Alexandria Citizen* in its account of the fiftieth anniversary of the First Congregational Church of that city includes a history of the church and a roll of its pastors. The November 22 issue of the *Sauk Center Herald* contains an account of the work of the Benedictine order in West Union, a work which has extended over a period of twenty-five years and has culminated in the dedication of a new building for the St. Alexius Catholic Church on November 18. Among the articles dealing with Scandinavian churches are the *Fergus Falls Ugeblad's* account of the forty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Fergus Falls Evangelical Lutheran Church in the October 19 issue; a history of the Comfrey Swedish Lutheran Congregation from the time the members left Sweden to the present time, in the *Comfrey Times* for November 29; and a résumé of the twenty-five years of activity of the Mankato Scandinavian Baptist Church in the *Mankato Daily Free Press* of November 28.

Some articles recently published in the section of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington, Iowa) devoted to "The Old Boats" deserve especial attention from students of early river transportation. A biographical sketch of George W. Gauthier, one of the early rivermen, by Fred A. Bill, is printed in the issue of December 15. On the same date appears an article by Captain George Winans in which he tells of his experiences in trying to use, for the first time, a steamboat to tow log rafts down the Mississippi. This account was read at the December 15 meeting of the Pioneer Rivermen's Association in St. Paul, an extended notice of which appears in the *Post* for December 15. In addition to this special section, the *Post*, in its issues of November 17, 24, December 1, and 8, publishes the log of the steamer "Lilly," which was kept by her engineer, Eben B. Hill, during a trip from St. Louis up the Missouri to Fort Benton, and return, in 1867.

